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**The role of education in teaching Dutch norms and values to adult newcomers: an analysis of integration policy in the Netherlands, with emphasis on the city of Rotterdam**

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**2006**

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**18 APR 2007**

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the current debate in the Netherlands on norms and values. Specifically, it addresses the question of whether norms and values can be described, and if so, whether policy reveals the way that education plays a role in their acquisition by adult newcomers. The data collected consist of national and local (city of Rotterdam) integration policy, and in addition, interviews with politicians, policy analysts, and academics involved in the integration process. The analysis of policy and interviews was conducted using a grounded theory approach. The data revealed that the assimilation of Dutch norms and values is considered essential to the integration process, even though defining a Dutch norm and value is difficult, and contradictions and ironies appear when a norm or value is practiced. The data also revealed that 'education' is regarded as one of the most important means by which adult newcomers assimilate into Dutch norms and values. The conclusions based on these findings have several implications for education, some of which are: assimilation does not allow education to explore the complexity or abstractness of Dutch norms and values; provisions in policy regarding sanctions make education an instrument of enforcement and coercion; other policy provisions make education an instrument of exclusion rather than inclusion.



## Table of contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>11.1</b>	<b>Background to the research</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>1.2</b>	<b>Research problems and issues</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.3</b>	<b>Justification for the research</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.4</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>1.5</b>	<b>Outline of the thesis</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>1.6</b>	<b>Definitions</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1.7</b>	<b>Limitations</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>1.8</b>	<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Literature Analysis</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>2.1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>2.2</b>	<b>Policy</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>2.2.1</b>	<b>Policy – integration policy</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>2.3</b>	<b>Integration</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>2.3.1</b>	<b>Integration - attempts to define</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>2.3.2</b>	<b>Integration – to what degree assimilation</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>2.3.3</b>	<b>Dimensions of integration</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>2.3.4</b>	<b>Integration – multiculturalism</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>2.3.4a</b>	<b>Culture in multiculturalism</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>2.3.4b</b>	<b>Multiculturalism – debate issues</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>2.3.4c</b>	<b>Multiculturalism and integration today</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>2.4</b>	<b>Norms and values</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>2.4.1</b>	<b>Norms and values - define</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>2.4.2</b>	<b>Norms and values – social cohesion</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>2.4.3</b>	<b>Norms and values – assimilation</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>2.4.4</b>	<b>Norms and values – autonomy and toleration</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>2.4.4a</b>	<b>Toleration</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>2.4.5</b>	<b>Islam</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>2.5</b>	<b>The city as site of research</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>2.6</b>	<b>Social cohesion</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>2.6.1</b>	<b>Social cohesion – integration</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>2.6.2</b>	<b>Social cohesion - welfare - integration</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>2.6.3</b>	<b>Social cohesion - globalization – integration</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>2.6.4</b>	<b>Social cohesion – the nation state – integration</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>2.7</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>2.7.1</b>	<b>Education – autonomy</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>2.7.2</b>	<b>Education – autonomy – norms and values</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>2.8</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>2.8.1</b>	<b>Chapter summary</b>	<b>65</b>

<b>3</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>3.1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>3.2</b>	<b>Justification of methodology</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>3.2.1</b>	<b>Personal experience</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>3.2.2</b>	<b>Local/European interest</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>3.2.3</b>	<b>Lack of previous research</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>3.2.4</b>	<b>Research and the qualitative/hermeneutic method</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>3.2.5</b>	<b>Research and grounded theory</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>3.3</b>	<b>Judging the research</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>3.3.1</b>	<b>The semi-structured interview</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>3.3.2</b>	<b>Bias</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>3.3.3</b>	<b>Bias and the interview</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>3.3.4</b>	<b>Dependability</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>3.3.5</b>	<b>Credibility</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>3.3.6</b>	<b>Transferability/generalisability</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>3.4</b>	<b>Administrative procedures</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>3.4.1</b>	<b>Administrative procedures – Interview</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>3.4.2</b>	<b>Administration of procedures – Document Analysis</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>3.5</b>	<b>Limitations of the methodology</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>3.6</b>	<b>Ethical issues</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>3.7</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Part One – Analysis of Data</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>4.1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>4.2</b>	<b>Part One – Analysis of National Integration Policy</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>4.2.1</b>	<b>National Policy – Provenance</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>4.2.2</b>	<b>Norms and values – importance of</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>4.2.3</b>	<b>Norms and values – define</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>4.2.4</b>	<b>Norms and values – integration</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>4.3</b>	<b>Dutch norms and values</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>4.3.1</b>	<b>Separation of church and state/freedom of religion</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>4.3.2</b>	<b>Freedom of speech</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>4.3.3</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>4.3.4</b>	<b>The welfare state</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>4.3.5</b>	<b>Self-sufficiency – autonomy- individualism</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>4.3.5a</b>	<b>Individualism/communalism</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>4.3.6</b>	<b>Diversity vs. assimilation</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>4.3.7</b>	<b>Social Cohesion</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>4.3.8</b>	<b>Sanctions and enforcement</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>4.3.9</b>	<b>Policy Evaluation</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>4.4</b>	<b>Summary</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>4.5</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>107</b>

<b>4.6</b>	<b>Part One (con't) Analysis of Local integration policy</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>4.6.1</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>4.6.2</b>	<b>Norms and Values - Importance of</b>	<b>114</b>
<b>4.6.3</b>	<b>Norms and Values - Define</b>	<b>114</b>
<b>4.6.4</b>	<b>Norms and values – Integration</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>4.7</b>	<b>Dutch norms and values</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>4.7.1</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>4.7.2</b>	<b>The welfare state</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>4.7.3</b>	<b>Self-sufficiency – individualism vs. collectivism</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>4.7.4</b>	<b>Diversity</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>4.7.5</b>	<b>Social cohesion</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>4.7.6</b>	<b>Islam</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>4.7.6a</b>	<b>Islam – emancipation of women</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>4.7.7</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>4.7.8</b>	<b>Integration policy</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>4.7.8a</b>	<b>Sanctions and enforcement</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>4.8</b>	<b>Summary</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>4.9</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>4.10</b>	<b>Summary Chapter Four – Part One</b>	<b>132</b>
<b>4.11</b>	<b>Part Two – Analysis of Interviews</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>4.11.1</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>4.11.2</b>	<b>Norms and values – importance of</b>	<b>134</b>
<b>4.11.3</b>	<b>Norms and values – defined</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>4.11.4</b>	<b>Norms and values – impact of debate</b>	<b>136</b>
<b>4.11.5</b>	<b>Norms and Values – integration</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>4.12</b>	<b>Dutch norms and values</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>4.12.1</b>	<b>Separation of church and state</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>4.12.1a</b>	<b>Secular society – Freedom of religion</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>4.12.2</b>	<b>Freedom of speech</b>	<b>145</b>
<b>4.12.3</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>4.12.4</b>	<b>Welfare State</b>	<b>149</b>
<b>4.12.5</b>	<b>Self-sufficiency, autonomy, individualism</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>4.12.6</b>	<b>Sanctions and enforcement</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>4.12.7</b>	<b>Diversity</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>4.12.8</b>	<b>Progressive Society</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>4.12.8a</b>	<b>Emancipation of women-equality men/women</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>4.12.8b</b>	<b>Freedom of sexual orientation</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>4.12.9</b>	<b>Social cohesion</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>4.12.9a</b>	<b>Social cohesion – globalization</b>	<b>163</b>
<b>4.12.9b</b>	<b>Social cohesion – safety and liveability</b>	<b>164</b>
<b>4.12.9c</b>	<b>Social cohesion – Islam</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>4.12.10</b>	<b>Integration Policy</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>4.12.10a</b>	<b>Policy – Assimilation or pluralism/multiculturalism</b>	<b>166</b>

4.12.10b	Policy evaluation	169
4.13	Summary	171
4.14	Education	173
4.14.1	The value of being educated	173
4.14.2	The role of education – teaching norms and values	174
4.14.2a	The role of education – to promote self-sufficiency in a market economy	176
4.14.2b	The role of education – to promote social cohesion	178
4.14.2c	The role of education – to promote employment	179
4.15	Summary/conclusion	181
5	Conclusions and implications	183
5.1	Introduction	183
5.2	Summary of findings	184
5.2.1	Policy	184
5.2.2	Integration	185
5.2.2a	Integration – assimilation	186
5.2.3	Norms and values	187
5.2.4	City as a cite of research	188
5.2.5	Social cohesion	189
5.2.6	Education	190
5.3	Specific norms and values	193
5.3.1	Separation of church and state – freedom of religion	193
5.3.2	Freedom of speech	193
5.3.3	Employment	194
5.3.4	Welfare	194
5.3.5	Self-sufficiency – responsibility – individualism	195
5.3.6	Diversity	196
5.3.7	Progressive society	197
5.3.8	Enforcement and sanctions	198
5.4	Conclusions – main elements of the research question	199
5.4.1	Policy	199
5.4.2	Assimilation – integration	199
5.4.3	Norms and values	200
5.4.4	City as a cite of research	200
5.4.5	Social cohesion	201
5.5	Conclusions norms and values	202
5.5.1	Separation of church and state – freedom of religion	202
5.5.2	Freedom of speech	202
5.5.3	Employment – welfare	203
5.5.4	Self-sufficiency – individualism	203
5.5.5	Diversity	204
5.5.6	Progressive society	205
5.5.7	Sanctions and enforcement	206
5.6	Education	207

<b>5.6.1</b>	<b>Education – hidden messages and goals</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>5.7</b>	<b>Implications for future research</b>	<b>210</b>
<b>5.8</b>	<b>Personal reflection on research</b>	<b>212</b>

<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>214</b>
<b>Bibliography National Policy</b>	<b>226</b>
<b>Bibliography Local Policy</b>	<b>227</b>

## **Appendices**

<b>Appendix I</b>	<b>Integration Policy Delays</b>	<b>229</b>
<b>Appendix II</b>	<b>Dates of Interviews</b>	<b>230</b>
<b>Appendix III</b>	<b>Participant Information Sheet/Consent Form</b>	<b>231</b>
<b>Appendix IV</b>	<b>Sample Interview Sheet</b>	<b>234</b>
<b>Appendix V</b>	<b>Integration Exam – Sanctions and Personal Responsibility</b>	<b>235</b>
<b>Appendix VI</b>	<b>Information on Integration Exam</b>	<b>236</b>
<b>Appendix VII</b>	<b>Debate Schedule</b>	<b>238</b>
<b>Appendix VIII</b>	<b>Transcript of Sample Interview</b>	<b>241</b>

### **Declaration**

I confirm that this is my own work and use of material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background to the research

In a broad sense, this research is about '*learning to live together in the global village*' (Delors et al, 1996).<sup>1</sup> The authors of *Learning: The Treasure Within* understand that 'learning to live together' is one of the more critical present day challenges. In a broad sense, this research is about the struggle to create that global village. In an era when 'North and South, First World and Third World, are no longer 'out there' but nestled together within all the world's major cities' (Held et al, 1999: 8), 'learning to live together' is a practical necessity when peace and stability are valued.

The fact that many cities act as magnets, as Held et al contend, attracting people from diverse backgrounds from all over the world, has meant that cultural differences have emerged as a major source of conflict, conflict seen as threatening to the fabric of social cohesiveness (Crul et al, 1999: 206). As a result, the issues of integration and social cohesion have become linked in the minds of many, precisely what has happened in the Netherlands (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 5). In response, the Dutch government has made 'integration policy' a keystone of its plan to improve social cohesion. In so doing, the government confirms the widely held belief that an 'integrated' population is an integral 'pillar of social cohesion' (Niessen, 2000:10). In its attempt to create this 'integrated' society, one of the main provisions of the new policy is to 'integrate' adult newcomers through the teaching of Dutch norms and values (Government.nl: coalition agreement on immigration and integration). In this way, the issue of Dutch norms and values has also become linked in people's minds to the larger issues of integration and social cohesion.

This research analyzes integration policy from 2001 through 2005, a pivotal period in Dutch integration history. It is during this time that a shift has taken place in the philosophy of Dutch government integration policy, from that which previously

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<sup>1</sup>Delors et al (1996) is a report by educational experts from around the world, presented to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on education in the twenty-first century, chaired by Jacques Delors.



emphasized a multicultural perspective to one that is now labeled 'post-multiculturalist', 'pragmatic', 'assimilationist'. The major reason for this change is that the multiculturalist principles of past policy are seen as having 'failed' in their objective to help newcomers 'integrate'. The changes in the new policies also reflect deeper changes in Dutch society, bound up in what is termed a 'market approach', and a 'do it yourself' approach to 'integration'.

One effect of this new approach is the dismantling by the Dutch government of educational structures related to the previous multicultural policies. This includes all government sponsored education centers where classes were held to teach Dutch language and orientation to adult newcomers. The adult newcomer will now be required to pass an exam in the Dutch language in their country of origin before being allowed to immigrate to the Netherlands. Once in the Netherlands, newcomers will need to find language and orientation classes on the 'open market', which they will pay for themselves. Further, in an allotted number of years after arrival, these newcomers must pass an integration exam, the results of which will determine access to a permanent residency permit.

The new policy is explicit concerning the language level an adult newcomer must reach to pass the final integration exam. What this research intends is to find what level of clarity exists in policy concerning Dutch 'norms and values', what they are and how policy intends 'education' plays a role in imparting them to newcomers, since as noted above, one of the main provisions of the new policy is to 'integrate' adult newcomers through the teaching of Dutch norms and values (Government.nl: coalition agreement on immigration and integration). In addition, it seemed important that research understand the way in which norms and values relate to the larger issues of integration and social cohesion.

The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to analyze the ways in which people concerned with policy making in the period in question, as policy makers or policy analysts, understand the concepts behind the phrase 'norms and values' and what they

think is the role of education in the inculcation of norms and values in adult newcomers.

Since there appeared to be a gap in available research, I concluded that research in this area was appropriate for this thesis.

## **1.2 Research problem and issues**

*Problem:* To analyze, through the analysis of integration policies and the interviewing of those who make and influence integration policy in the Netherlands, specifically in Rotterdam, how education plays a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values.

*Research issues:* The conclusions for this thesis, which are presented in Chapter Five, were reached through an analysis of data that included, first, analyzing national and local (Rotterdam) integration policy and second, analyzing a set of interviews by participants influential in the design and implementation of such policy. In order to give some structure to the collection and analysis of this data (Chapter Four) and to the analysis of literature (Chapter Two), I decided to use a set of factors as a guide.<sup>2</sup> These factors were determined by analyzing the research question and abstracting six major elements:

The six factors are:

- Policy
- Integration
- Norms and values
- City as site of research
- Education
- Social cohesion

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<sup>2</sup> See sample interview questions (Appendix IV) which highlight how these six factors were used as guides for the interview.

Policy, the first factor, is important because ‘policy’ is what is being analyzed in this thesis. Analyzing ‘policy’ initiates the questions as to what policy is, and more importantly, what ‘integration policy’ is. The analysis of ‘integration policy’ moves the discussion beyond ‘integration’ into other approaches which are integrally bound up with the process, such as that of ‘assimilation’. What is assimilation and how do the various approaches to integration differ? The third factor is ‘norms and values’, one of the most important for this thesis. If norms and values are to be taught to adult newcomers, what are they? In what way do the participants in the interviews understand Dutch norms and values? How does integration policy interpret Dutch norms and values and their importance? The fourth factor, ‘the city as site of research’, relates to the focus on Rotterdam. How is the ‘local’ important in the process of integration? The fifth factor is that of ‘education’, another of the more important factors since ‘education’ is the main focus of the thesis. How is ‘education’ to play a role in teaching adult newcomers Dutch norms and values? The final factor, social cohesion, is not so obviously a component of the research question, but as already mentioned in 1.1, the perceived ‘loss’ of social cohesion underlies much of the present focus by the Dutch government on ‘integration’ and on the teaching of norms and values, so I felt it was important to include it as a guiding factor.

The choice of these six factors as a guide does not preclude the importance of other topics that emerged during the analysis of the literature, the policy and the interviews. However, these six were, as I said previously, the primary guides because of their importance to the research question.

### **1.3 Justification for the research**

Section 1.2 presented the research problem and six factors used as a guide in the literature analysis, in the analysis of policy and in the analysis of the interviews. In 1.3, I present the justification for this research. This is done by establishing the timeliness and importance of each of the six guiding factors: policy; integration; norms and values; the city as site of research; education and social cohesion. Second,

justification is established by indicating the lack of research that exists on this particular research topic. Third, justification is established by arguing that the research findings are useful and have a potential for future research.

First, ‘policy’ is an important and timely topic for research since it is considered an essential component in the process of integration (Uitermark and Duyvendak, 2005: 8; Schibel, M. et al, 2002: 4). However, the definition, design and implementation of policy is a complex endeavor, one that is analyzed in *Chapter Two-Literature Analysis*. Studies claim that Dutch immigrants have successfully integrated ‘in spite of’ government policy (Dutch Integration Policy Investigation, 2004: 5; Expatica News, 2004) yet sound policy is generally considered essential to the process of integration. Sound policies work to reduce the ‘marginalisation’ of minority groups by ensuring immigrant rights and opportunities (Schibel, M. et al, 2002: 4). Good policies are also understood to work best when rooted locally, so that the particulars of a policy relate to the particulars of a community (Ray, 2002:4), as is the case with the present research and its focus on Rotterdam.

Second, ‘integration’ is both a timely topic and one of high interest regionally, nationally and locally. It is found at the top of agendas from organizations like the EU (EurActiv, 2005), to national governments across Europe (Engberink, 2002; Crul et al, 1999:198). In the Netherlands, the topic of integration is especially high on the agenda of the Dutch government. On the website of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ‘integration of minorities’ is defined as ‘one of today’s most daunting political challenges’.<sup>3</sup> Locally, integration tops the list of city government affairs. In Rotterdam, integration is a priority (Gemeente Rotterdam, City Government of Rotterdam, 2004; Engberink, 2002). Integration is at the top of government agendas even more than ‘immigration’ (van Selm, 2002).

Third, the issue of norms and values has become, along with integration, a timely and important topic in the Netherlands, not only among politicians, but also among the

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.minbuza.nl/default.asp?CMS\\_ITEM=MBZ302327](http://www.minbuza.nl/default.asp?CMS_ITEM=MBZ302327)

general public. 'The Dutch at all socio-economic levels agree that the decline of values and norms is the most important issue today except for crime and health care' (de Beer et al, 2004: 9-10). The Economist states that *normen en waarden*, norms and values, are 'the most potent phrase in Dutch politics today...' (10 May 2003). The present Balkenende government has even set up a web site [www.zestienmiljoenmensen.nl](http://www.zestienmiljoenmensen.nl)<sup>4</sup> to encourage citizens to engage with each other in the debate about Dutch norms and values over the internet. In 2004, the Netherlands brought the norms and values issue onto a regional level, organizing a conference, *The Politics of European Values* (Balkenende, 2004).

On the local level, in the spring of 2005, the city of Rotterdam organized nine city-wide highly publicized debates on *Islam and Integratie* (Gemeente Rotterdam). The second debate in the series was titled '*waarden en normen in rechtsstaat en islam*', (norms and values in the constitutional state and in Islam), which examined perceived differences and how best to bridge these. Thus, the activity of the Dutch government, regionally, nationally and locally, and feedback from ordinary citizens, demonstrates the importance the Netherlands places on the issue of norms and values, as does the almost daily reference to 'norms and values' in some context in both the national and local media.

Fourth, the topic of 'cities as a site of research' is both timely and important. For newcomers, 'cities' are ports of entry and places of residence where the process of integration unfolds, thus making the city one of the most important sites from which to study the integration process, as others also point out (Ang, 2002; Favell, 2003:19; Cross et al, 2000: 14; Vertovec, 1997). Hence, researching integration policies and interviewing local officials with a focus on Rotterdam is appropriate. To underline the importance of Rotterdam as a research site, three of the past International Metropolis Conferences on integration/immigration focused on the 'city' as the main site of

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<sup>4</sup> *Zestienmiljoenmensen* means '16 million people', the present population in the Netherlands.

research, Rotterdam being the only city featured at all three conferences.<sup>5</sup> Rotterdam is considered one of Europe's most 'diverse' cities with over forty-seven percent of its population classified as 'immigrant'.<sup>6</sup>

Fifth, along with *integration* and *norms and values*, 'education' has also emerged as a priority issue in the Netherlands since it is seen by the government and public as one of the most important ways in which adult newcomers 'integrate' into society (Balkenende, 2004). As is demonstrated in *Chapter Four-Analysis of Data*, integration policy links an 'integrated' newcomer with one who understands and accepts Dutch norms and values. On a larger scale, education is seen as an important tool in helping to create a better society, or as Delors et al state, education is a factor in helping society 'learn to live together', the 'principal means' by which 'poverty, exclusion, ignorance, oppression and war' are reduced (1996: 13). Research by Uunk which focused on immigrants in the Netherlands concluded that '...education is the most important determinant of cultural integration' (2003: 239). The analysis of these ideas about education and integration are presented in *Chapter Two-Literature Analysis*, and are complex, but even so, the belief in education as a stabilizing force in society is widely adhered to, and the emphasis on education for adult newcomers by the Dutch government is testimony to this.

Sixth, 'social cohesion' is at the top of the list in the Netherlands as a timely and important topic since it is the perceived *loss* of social cohesion that has triggered much of the response of the Dutch government to increasing its focus on 'integration' and 'Dutch norms and values'. Headlines, like that of April 2005, declare 'the threat of terrorism has increased in the Netherlands more sharply than anywhere else in the world', with Rotterdam and Amsterdam the two major targets (NIS News). A Chicago Tribune article described Holland as 'the epicenter of ethnic turmoil in

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<sup>5</sup> The 6<sup>th</sup> International Metropolis Conference, Rotterdam, 26-30 November, 2001, focused on Rotterdam; The Seventh International Metropolis Conference, Oslo, Norway, 2002, examined Rotterdam, Toronto, Vancouver and Vienna; The 8<sup>th</sup> International Metropolis Conference, 15-19 September, 2003, examined Toronto, Vienna, Rotterdam, and Barcelona.

<sup>6</sup> See 1.6 on how the term 'immigrant' is defined in the Netherlands.

Western Europe' (Ghitis, 2004). The death of politician Pym Fortuyn in 2001, the gruesome murder of film maker Theo van Gogh in November, 2004, by a Somali immigrant, the 'fatwa' pronounced on politicians such as Hirsi Ali and others who declare that Islam and western culture have irreconcilable differences,<sup>7</sup> confirm to the Dutch that their cherished social cohesion is crumbling. Statistics confirm that crime in the Netherlands is also on the rise, the percentage of immigrants in prison 'by far the highest compared with other countries', nearly three times as high as in Germany and Great Britain (NIS News). However accurate or inaccurate this belief in the connection between crime and immigration<sup>8</sup>, it is unquestionably a widely held belief in Holland. For these reasons, social cohesion has emerged as a priority issue in the Netherlands, especially so in Rotterdam, where as was stated previously, 47% of the population is immigrant, with a projected increase in the immigrant population by 2020 to well over 50%.

The above paragraphs establish the first justification for this research, the importance and timeliness of the various component parts of the research question:

*From the view of policy, policy makers, and those who influence integration policy, how does education play a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values?*

The second justification concerns the need to do research in this area. If it is accepted that the research is timely and important, then a lack of existing research highlights the need to do more. The present research question is one that has not, to my knowledge, been previously explored. One obvious reason is that the integration

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<sup>7</sup> Pym Fortuyn, a Rotterdam politician shot to death May, 2002, by a non-immigrant animal rights fanatic, campaigned on issues of 'safety' and dangers of Islam to Dutch society (Uitermark and Duyvendak, 2005). He is credited with being the first to say publicly, 'Holland is full'. Hirsi Ali, a Somalian born Muslim, presently a member of the Dutch parliament, speaks out against Islam as 'backward' and unjust to women. She has received numerous death threats and is under police protection. Others receiving death threats include: Immigration Minister Rita Verdonk; Geert Wilders, right-wing MP opposed to Turkey joining the EU; Job Cohen, Mayor of Amsterdam.

<sup>8</sup> The debate on reliability of crime statistics is referred to *Chapter Two-Literature Analysis*.

policies analyzed are not finalized with regards to the teaching of norms and values. The date for completion of guidelines by the government continued to be extended during the time of the writing of this thesis.<sup>9</sup> Second, the focus of this research is specific to Rotterdam. Although Rotterdam is often the site of integration research, it has not, again to my knowledge, been studied on the specific issue of integration policies in relation to the role of education and the teaching of norms and values to adult newcomers.

Additionally, research of this type may be valuable as a case study to countries or cities outside of the Netherlands. One reason is the growing commitment of integration programs<sup>10</sup> throughout Europe to the teaching of norms and values to newcomers. Studies by Michalowski on integration programs in several EU member states confirm this commitment. Austria affirms that newcomers need to learn ‘basic European democratic values’ (2004b: 7); France wants ‘the fundamental values of French society’ to be taught (ibid: 27); Sweden asks that ‘respect for cultural differences so long as these do not conflict with the basic values of society’ be maintained (ibid: 36). The teaching of norms and values now shares importance with the teaching of the host country ‘language’, the ‘social and cultural orientation’ becoming ‘recognized as a significant element in public policy making in most of Europe’ (Entzinger, 2004: 13).

Another reason this study may have value outside the Netherlands is because of the unique position Holland has traditionally held as a ‘model’ for integration programs. Countries ‘converge towards a common Dutch model’ because it ‘tackles the problems experienced in other European Member States...’ (Michalowski, 2004: 1) and is ‘pragmatic and rational’ (ibid: 4). The Netherlands also benefits from its ‘liberal image’ which contributes to ‘making integration programs a more consensual issue and legitimatizing governmental ambitions in the field’ (ibid: 10-11). Thus,

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 1 for a list of headlines detailing the delays.

<sup>10</sup> See definitions **1.6** for differences between the terms ‘policy’ and ‘programs’.



studies originating in the Netherlands are viewed with interest by the wider EU community.

The last justification for this research concerns future research. As is stated in Chapter Five, the conclusions reached for this research are tentative, a situation more fully explained in 1.7 regarding limitations. This situation means that future research might entail action research or case study approaches, observing the teaching of norms and values in a formal sense, in classroom practices of teachers and/or students. Research might analyze curriculum guides developed to teach norms and values. Given the importance that the teaching of norms and values to adult newcomers is receiving from the Dutch and other EU governments, it seems clear that future research should be conducted to examine the extent to which policy goals are being achieved.

Section 1.3 presented the justification of the present research by demonstrating the timeliness and importance of the research topic; the lack of existing research on this topic and its possible usefulness outside the Netherlands; and possibilities for future research. Section 1.4 presents an overview of the methodology used.

## **1.4 Methodology**

This section presents an overview of the methodology used to gather data for this research. *Chapter Three-Methodology* discusses methodological details in full. First, I felt the best way to research the topic on norms and values was to set up interviews with those who are influential in the designing and implementation of national and local integration policy. I also wanted to analyze what national and local integration policy said about ‘education’s role’ in teaching Dutch norms and values. I was not making a statistical analysis nor looking for conclusions about cause and effect; rather I wanted to understand how the participants ‘interpreted’ Dutch norms and values, how they saw ‘educations’ role’ in teaching norms and values, and what the participants felt about other integration related issues. As well, I was interested to understand how policy ‘interpreted’ these same subjects.

A qualitative approach suited the ‘interpretive’ nature of the research.<sup>11</sup> Informal, semi-structured interviews and an interpretive reading of policy provided qualitative data on which the conclusions in *Chapter Five* are based. I chose a grounded theory approach to interpret the data, since this allowed for a constant comparison of ideas as they emerged from the interviews and policy analysis. Grounded theory allowed for the conclusions to arise from the data rather than by testing the accuracy of a particular theory imposed onto the data. As was stated at the beginning of this section, a much more detailed explanation of the methodology used appears in *Chapter Three*.

## **1.5 Outline of the thesis**

This thesis is divided into five chapters. *Chapter One* is an overview of the research, laying a foundation for the following chapters. This chapter introduces the research question, justifies its choice, provides important definitions, briefly presents the methodology used, and discusses the main limitations. *Chapter Two-Literature Analysis* reviews relevant literature in order to understand what is being said about issues which impact this research. *Chapter Three-Methodology* is a detailed explanation of the methods used to collect data which include a justification of methods and an explanation of how the research was carried out. *Chapter Four-Analysis of Data* presents and analyzes the data collected from the interviews and from policy. This chapter is divided into two parts for easier presentation, *Part One* focusing on data from national and local integration policy, and *Part Two* focusing on the analysis of the interviews. *Chapter Five* presents the conclusions reached from this research including, most importantly, implications for the role of education in the teaching of norms and values to adult newcomers. This chapter also includes a reflection on what I have personally learned from conducting this research.

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<sup>11</sup> Hammersley (1998) contains a detailed analysis of the features of the qualitative method.

## 1.6 Definitions

The following words have different meanings in different contexts. Definitions are provided in order to avoid confusion over their meaning in the context of this research. The meaning of certain other important words is not included here since the analysis of their meanings is an integral part of the *Literature Analysis-Chapter Two*.

**Immigrant:** The meaning of the word *immigrant* differs from one European country to another. In the Netherlands, according to the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, 'persons with a foreign background' is the term preferred over 'immigrant' or 'foreigner' or 'non-native'. The Netherlands distinguishes between first and second generation 'persons with a foreign background'. First generation persons are born abroad and have at least one parent born abroad. Second generation persons are born in the Netherlands, with one parent born abroad. Another distinction is made between those persons with western and non-western backgrounds, the non-western generally referring to persons of Turkish, African, Asian and Latin-American backgrounds. This non-western group is often referred to as 'ethnic minorities' (van het Loo et al, 2001) and refers to groups who are in an 'inferior' position in Dutch society, socially, politically, economically. *Allochthonen* is another term that refers to 'foreign born' but is infrequently used today, never having gained widespread use, and officially being rejected by the government as a term in 1994 (Vermeulen, 1997). Using the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* definition of immigrant, 47% of Rotterdam's population is composed of 'persons with a foreign background'.

For the sake of brevity, the present research uses the terms 'immigrant' and 'newcomers', even though 'ethnic minorities'<sup>12</sup> is often the group being discussed. This reflects the use of 'immigrant' and 'newcomer' in the integration settlement policies and the use of these terms by the interviewees.

*The present study focuses on adult immigrants, those over 18 years old.*

### **Native**

Native is frequently used in the thesis to refer to non-immigrants even though the term is controversial.

### **Introduction programs for newcomers:**

Introduction/introductory programs, settlement programs, integration courses, orientation courses, mandatory courses for newcomers, citizenship courses for newcomers ... the list goes on and by switching the word 'newcomer' for

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<sup>12</sup> Edwards (1985) discusses the erroneous link between the terms 'ethnic' and 'minority'.

‘migrant’ or ‘immigrant’ or ‘newly arrived’, the possibilities for combinations are quite lengthy. All the above terms refer to what this research calls ‘introduction programmes for newcomers’.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes the Dutch term, *inburgeringscursus* appears in the research since it is the term found in Dutch policies and is frequently used by Dutch interviewees. Translated into English, *inburgeringscursus* means ‘citizenship courses’. However, these courses are not naturalization courses. They are meant to *introduce* a newcomer to Dutch society, what might be ‘a first-step’ to eventual citizenship (Entzinger, 2004:6). The courses are meant to give newcomers help in overcoming ‘handicaps’ which might prevent integration (Michalowski, 2004b: 4). Entzinger finds the best translation in English to be *civic integration*, or simply *integration* (2004: 6). However, using *integration* to describe the courses brings its own set of problems, as is seen in the literature analysis *Chapter Two* when the term ‘integration’ is analyzed.

### **Inburgering**

*Inburgering* means adaptation or integration. ‘Migrants are supposed to integrate; for that they need *inburgering*, or becoming *inburgering*. The purpose of that is to have people participate in the Dutch society, with the objective to be able, later on, to function independently’.<sup>14</sup>

### **‘Policy’ vs. ‘programs’**

The focus of this thesis is on integration policy. Provisions of policy focus on ‘integration’ programs or ‘introductory’ programs, as defined above. In the course of analyzing the interviews and integration policy, references are generally to the policy itself, but other times to the ‘introductory programs’. Every attempt is made to make the distinctions in the analysis clear.

### **Integration Exam**

Reference is made throughout the thesis to the ‘integration exam’. Adult newcomers from certain countries, especially those with majority Muslim populations, are required to pass such an exam as a clear step in the process of becoming ‘integrated’ and as a condition for permanent residency status.

### **Muslim**

The use of the term ‘Muslim’ in this thesis is a simplification which does not reflect the diverse nature of the Muslim groups in the Netherlands.

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<sup>13</sup> The English translation of *inburgering* as ‘introduction’ is not the best since this excludes *oudkomers* (those already settled for some years). For this reason, ‘integration’ program seems most appropriate (Michalowski, 2004: 5).

<sup>14</sup> Adviescommissie Normering Inburgeringseisen (2004) *Normering inburgeringsexamen*. Bijlage (appendix) #4: 1.

## 1.7 Limitations

Section 1.6 defined several key words in order to ensure a uniform understanding of potentially confusing terms. Section 1.7 focuses on several limitations encountered while doing this research. It notes what these limitations were, why they were considered limitations, and what was done to minimize their effects.

As was noted in 1.2, the conclusions reached for this research are tentative due to the incomplete process of implementation of the integration policies in the Netherlands and Rotterdam, especially policy relating to the teaching of norms and values. The main reasons why this process is incomplete have to do with events occurring in Dutch society which were beyond my control. These events forced postponement or changes in the integration policy design and implementation by the government. A brief history of these events is presented here, with further historical details relating to the analysis of data presented in *Chapter Four-Analysis of Data*. The Wet inburgering nieuwkomers (Act on the Integration of Newcomers or WIN) adopted by Parliament in 1997 made it obligatory for newcomers to take courses and be tested on their level of Dutch language and knowledge of Dutch society. Criticisms arose early-on stating that expectations were too high and the results disappointing (Entzinger, 2004: 8). A government-commissioned study<sup>15</sup> acknowledged that immigrants had succeeded integrating *in spite of* government policy<sup>16</sup>.

Other major events, including the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 in New York, the murder of Pym Fortuyn in Rotterdam, the stabbing death of Theo van Gogh<sup>17</sup> in Amsterdam, the bombings in Madrid and in London, resulted in growing pressure on the government to reevaluate and readjust integration policy in response to the growing anti-immigrant sentiment in Dutch society. Objections from opposition political parties, government officials, the public, resulted in further changes and delays.<sup>18</sup> Thus, since 2002, when work on this thesis began, events have

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<sup>15</sup> This study is known as the Blok Commissie report, January, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> This comment was referred to in 1.3.

<sup>17</sup> See Footnote 7, page 17

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix 1 about these protests and delays.

unfolded, often in dramatic ways, to keep integration policies in a state of development, a process continuing until today (Entzinger, 2004: 10).

The continuing development of integration policy, specifically policy relating to Dutch norms and values, is cited here as a limitation. However, as noted in **1.3 Justification for the research**, the continuing implementation process brings opportunities for a wealth of future research.

The second limitation for this research is a personal one and concerns the Dutch language. As a fairly recent immigrant<sup>19</sup>, I did not have a command of the language. However, what made research on policy and other documents possible was the large amount of research translated into English. Government documents are frequently translated into English, and in many cases, published in English on the government internet sites. Research by university professors and policy makers is routinely translated into English. As regards the collection of data through interviews, all participants spoke English, some better than others, but all remarkably fluent.<sup>20</sup> A good command of English is so prevalent among academics, researchers, policy makers and politicians in Holland that 'speaking English' was never a factor for consideration when approaching a potential interview subject. There was only one person who said 'no' to an interview because he did not feel comfortable with English. He recommended another person who spoke English and whom he felt would express views similar to his.

When there were important policy documents that were not translated, I employed a qualified Dutch translator who has had her own translation business for many years. She and I worked together for over 15 hours on translating policy documents. I also

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<sup>19</sup> I have been in Holland for four years. I am in the statistics for Rotterdam as an 'immigrant' but because I have a US passport, I am not compelled to attend the mandatory 'introduction programmes for newcomers' nor take the integration exam referred to in the definitions, page 22.

<sup>20</sup> Limitations relating to the interview as a methodological approach are discussed in *Chapter Three-Methodology*.

sought help from Dutch-English speaking friends for shorter documents or important paragraphs.

During this time, my ability to read Dutch improved, but never to the standard needed for policy analysis. This inability to read on my own was surely a limitation in that important documents or news items may have been over-looked. However, I followed up all recommendations from interviewees on important documents to read, often receiving policy documents from the participants themselves. Furthermore, many of the policy documents I had access to listed other pertinent policies as reference, which I consistently followed up on. It is hoped that with this process, no critically important documents were overlooked.

A third limitation of this research involves the scope of the literature analyzed in *Chapter Two*. First, much of it is ‘conceptual’ as opposed to ‘empirical’. I did not intend it to be so; however, the research I was able to access on topics such as ‘integration’ and ‘social cohesion’ were based on logic and persuasion as opposed to evidence of detailed research. This I accepted as reasonable due to the topics themselves which are ‘concepts’. Favell (2001)<sup>21</sup> states integration is a ‘conceptual shorthand’ or ‘framework’ for policies and practices. Social cohesion is similar in nature in that, like integration, it is difficult to define. Vertovec (1997)<sup>22</sup> points out that, ‘If we wish to develop research and policy aimed at fostering or promoting social cohesion, we should develop clearer notions of what it might look like and entail’.

Empirical studies, on the other hand, such as those using surveys and questionnaires, were available when, for example, integration was researched in a particular dimension, in employment, housing, educational achievements, welfare use, etc.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> <<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/favell/CARN-PUB.htm>>.

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.international.metropolis.net/research-policy/social/index\\_e.html](http://www.international.metropolis.net/research-policy/social/index_e.html)

<sup>23</sup> See Cross et al (2000) and Council of Europe (1997) for discussions of problems in the comparative measuring of dimensions of integration.

However, I was not able to access research in the socio-cultural dimension focusing on 'norms and values', for reasons stated previously (1.3).

The scope of the literature in *Chapter Two* includes authors who have concentrated their research work on the Netherlands which is not strange given that the Netherlands is the focus of this study. However, non-Dutch authors such as Favell (2001; 2003), Vertovec (1997; 1999) and Niessen (2000), whose work focuses on 'integration', 'social cohesion' and other related areas add a needed outsider's view of Dutch integration research. Their work is genuinely comparative, and ranges from EU countries, the US and Canada to Australia. However, they are themselves cautious about 'comparative' studies which comment on the Dutch situation. Favell cites one roundtable discussion involving twenty countries examining integration policy issues and, in the end, they were 'unable to offer any genuine comparative evaluation.' He states that to determine which country or city is 'doing better on integration' an 'integration index' is needed...

'degrees of social integration in housing, success in schooling or employment, differences in resistance of cultural behavior, persistence of racist attitudes, relative social mobility, or whatever is argued to be the best set of objective measures...this is exceedingly difficult' to achieve (2003: 23).

Favell goes on to say that states that are 'highly state-organized societies', such as Sweden or the Netherlands, end up looking as if they 'do it best'. He contends that European countries are presently engaged in comparative studies that 'seek to improve by pointing to negative contrasts in foreign countries'... 'Austria does very badly; Britain does less well than usual; the Dutch, French do better than the Germans and the Swiss...' (ibid: 23-4).

Thus, the scope of the literature analysis is limited since it is based on conceptual research, and not on empirically based studies focused on the dimensions of integration. The analysis incorporates the views of non-Dutch authors but not extensively since comparative studies are limited regarding the light they can shed on



the Dutch situation (Alexander, 2001: 4). I think, that although the scope is limited in these ways, the literature chosen allows for a balanced analysis.

Other limitations that result from the chosen methodology are discussed in *Chapter Three-Methodology* (3.5) and (3.6).

## **1.8 Conclusion**

*Chapter One* introduced the research problem and research issues. It explained the justification for the research, gave definitions of important terms, presented an overview of the methodology, made clear the thesis outline and presented the research limitations. With this foundation in place, the thesis moves to *Chapter Two-Literature Analysis*.

## 2 Literature Analysis

### 2.1 Introduction

*Chapter One* provided an overview of the research for this thesis. It introduced the research question, justified its choice, defined important words and concepts, gave a brief overview of the methodology used, and discussed limitations. *Chapter Two* presents an analysis of literature chosen for its relevance in the field of policy and integration and/or for its relevance to the question posed by this research. This chapter analyzes research in the field of integration, specifically relating to the six factors identified in 1.2:

- Policy
- Integration
- Norms and values
- City as site of research
- Social cohesion
- Education

As stated, these six factors were chosen as guides for the collection of data and its analysis because they are important components of the research question:

*From the view of policy, policy makers, and those who influence integration policy, how does education play a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values?*

The importance of the literature analysis is to understand what research has been conducted, what position(s) the author(s) reached, how these positions are similar or different to other research, and in what areas research is lacking. Section 2.2 begins the literature analysis with the first factor listed above, that of policy.

## 2.2 Policy

*Policy* is an important topic as stated in 1.2, first, because ‘policy’ is what is being analyzed for this thesis, and is the first of six factors chosen to guide data collection and analysis. This section analyzes what *policy* and *policy analysis* mean. The work of two researchers, Ozga (2000) and Ball (1994) is examined. Both use different terminology to discuss the meaning of policy. They essentially agree on the definition that ‘policy’ is both ‘text’ and ‘words’, printed publications and documents. They also agree that policy incorporates a wider meaning. For Ball, this includes the ‘action’ and ‘deeds’ of those who affect policy or have a relationship to it (1994: 10). For Ozga, this includes the ‘*story*’ of policy: the source, the scope, the pattern (2000: 95-99). Both authors acknowledge the importance of going beyond ‘text’ to examine this ‘story’, these ‘actions’ or ‘deeds’, in order to arrive at an understanding of the struggles and compromises in society that influence the shape of policy. This expansion beyond text into social, cultural, economical and political factors means that the process of defining policy is complex, one which Ball tackles with a sense of light heartedness when he admits to his own ‘theoretical uncertainties’ as to what policy actually means (1994: 15). He argues that policy-making includes approaches of ‘ad hockery, serendipity, muddle and negotiation’, all of which make policy analysis complex (ibid: 14).

Ball takes policy analysis a step further, broadening the concept to that of *discourse*, which extends beyond words and texts, actions and deeds. For Ball, policy discourse is a study of the *production* of power (1994: 21), an examination of the way policy creates ‘voice’. Voice, in Ball’s view, determines what is ‘heard’ and therefore, what is considered truthful, ‘meaningful or authoritative’ (ibid: 23). Discourse, defined in this way, goes beyond identifying who has power and who doesn’t, but examines how policy (defined in a broad sense) creates or negates power, and sets boundaries as to what is acceptable to say, who can say it, and when it can be said (ibid: 23).

Clearly then, analyzing policy as text or words, actions or deeds, and as ‘discourse’ is a complex and challenging task. Ball and Ozga note that the public nature of policy

adds to the complexity, as there are often as many interpretations as there are readers (Ball, 1994: 16; Ozga, 2000: 105).

The major contribution that Ball and Ozga make to the present research is to confirm that policy is interpreted in a broad manner. Ball's views on policy as *discourse* support the need to analyze questions of power as generated and exercised through integration policy, especially in relation to the issue of norms and values. Ball's research also confirms that a bit of messiness in the attempt to analyze policy is part and parcel of the project, and not something to hide from.

### **2.2.1 Policy - Integration Policy**

Having examined the general meaning of policy and policy analysis, this section continues with an examination of the meaning of *integration* policy. One way to define such policy is to say what it is *not*. It is not *immigration* policy.<sup>24</sup> The literature is quite clear that there is a difference in meaning between the two types of policy. Immigration policy deals with the admission of immigrants into a country, which includes processes of border control, rights of entry and abode, and/or asylum. *Integration* policy, on the other hand, deals with how immigrants *integrate* into society (Favell, 2003: 14; Doomernik, 1998: 4-6; Muus, 1997: 37).

What, however, does it mean to *integrate*? The literature is wide-ranging in analyzing the meaning of 'integration', going from one extreme where the term is found to be so confusing and lacking in clarity that researchers drop it from their vocabulary<sup>25</sup>, to attempts at general vague definitions, to complex definitions derived from policy designs and goals. Section 2.3 analyzes the literature in regards to the meaning of 'integration', the second in a set of six factors that guide data collection and analysis.

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<sup>24</sup> Hamar (1985) is credited with being the first to make this distinction between integration and immigration policies (in Dommernik, 1998: 6).

<sup>25</sup> According to Favell, 'transnational scholars have sought to expunge 'integration' from their terms of research' (2003: 34).

## Summary

An analysis of the literature in 2.2 revealed that the meaning of policy and policy analysis expands beyond 'written documents'. It includes the actions and beliefs of those who influence its design and implementation; it includes the struggles a society is experiencing, in this case, the struggles over integration; it includes the voices of those who have power in society and of those who don't. The literature analysis then supports the choice of data for this research which includes a wide ranging selection of policy, printed government documents, published academic research, local news items, curriculum guides, and films meant to teach newcomers about Holland. The literature analysis also supports the interviewing of policy planners, academics, and politicians influential in the design and implementation of integration policy.

## 2.3 Integration

The literature is replete with research that discusses the elusiveness (Pitkaenen et al, 2002: 3) and vagueness (Korac, 2003: 52) of the term *integration*. Researchers, politicians, and the public use the term frequently but with no agreement as to what it means, resulting in a 'chaotic' (Schibel et al, 2002: 4) and undefined concept (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 5). Not having any precise understanding of the word results, for May, in a 'Babylonian confusion of terms' (2003: 1-2). Not only is the meaning confusing but so is the implication that there is something definite to integrate into (Favell, 2001: 350; Favell, 2003: 17; Ang: 2003; Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 8). Integrating into the 'host' society implies the existence of a homogenous group, where everyone is 'integrated' at a similar level (Ang, 2003; Banton, 2001: 166), a situation that begs for standards to make clear when 'integration' has been achieved. What those standards are, who decides what they are, and whether integration is a feasible goal are issues that occupy much of the research on integration policy.

### 2.3.1 Integration/integration policy - Attempts to define

In spite of the agreement in the literature regarding the confusion the term elicits, definitions of 'integration' and 'integration policy' abound. Frequently, the definition is connected to what the process intends to accomplish. A compilation of some of the major elements in the definitions include 'integration' is a 'long term process' (Penninx, 2003; Ang, 2003; Schibel et al, 2002: 4; Kymlika, 2001: 30; van het Loo et al, 2001:103), and a 'complex' one (May, 2003: 15). Integration is a two-way street involving immigrants and the host society (European Commission in Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 17; May, 2003: 2), or more precisely, the government, institutions, and communities of the host nation (Penninx, 2003; Ray, 2002: 1). Integration is *policy driven* (Schibel et al, 2002: 4; Favell, 2003: 15). Therefore, 'integration policy' must promote the 'inclusion' of immigrants into society (Brochmann, 1999b: 10). Integration policy which focuses on 'inclusion' ensures equality of opportunity and participation in the socio-economic, cultural, and political realms of the host nation (Cross et al, 2000: 169; European Commission in Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 17; Schibel et al, 2002: 4).<sup>26</sup>

It would be difficult to argue that the definitions above were *not* vague, but the literature analysis highlights various contradictions that appear in these definitions. For example, research that defines integration as 'a long-term complex process' is frequently not the way governments respond via policy which is designed to offer 'immediate' and 'short term' solutions (Doomernik, 1998: 75-6). Integration defined as a 'two-way street involving both immigrants and the host society' is often not the way policy is designed or implemented: the bulk of the burden to integrate is placed squarely on the shoulders of the immigrants while few, if any, definitive obligations are placed on the host society (Joppke, 2003: 248).<sup>27</sup> Integration seen as driven by

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<sup>26</sup> Policy perceives the role of education to be that of fostering inclusion. Bourdieu argues that the educational system often contributes, instead, to social exclusion (1997).

<sup>27</sup> Joppke is referencing a statement by the Dutch Minister for Urban and Integration Policy, Roger van Boxtel who states that: 'Members of ethnic minorities can be expected to do their utmost in order to acquire an independent

policy transforms the task of integration from an individual or society driven process to one of public policy (Michalowski, 2004: 166), even though policy makers and politicians note the failure of integration policy in the past (Dutch News Bulletin, January 20, 2004). Also, the emphasis on the need for immigrants to *integrate* rarely reflects on or questions the degree to which the majority population is integrated (Favell, 2003: 29; May, 2003: 6-7). If, for example, accepting that men and women are equals is one of society's operating values, and immigrants are expected to adopt such values, then it is good that no one questions how many of the majority 'would be denied full-membership of society on that same count' (Blommestein and Verschueren, 1998: 121).

### **2.3.2 Integration – to what degree assimilation**

What has been determined so far in the analysis is that the term 'integration' (and thus 'integration policy') is difficult to define in any clear and concise manner. Another factor contributing to this confusion derives from the family of terms that accompany *integration* and are often used inconsistently and interchangeably. The *Babylonian confusion of terms* referred to in 2.3 includes associated terms such as 'assimilation, acculturation, accommodation, absorption, adaptation, amalgamation' (May, 2003: 1-2), terms that are also complex and ambiguous (Korac, 2003: 52). Favell states that the term *integration* in fact 'swallows up' those terms listed above (2001: 351). It is not the purpose here to analyze the meanings of each term since they vary in importance in the discussion on integration, except for the term *assimilation*, which has been in the past, and still is today, an important policy term. The purpose is to understand that if the implicit or explicit aims or goals of integration policy are *assimilation*; if so, the objectives will differ from a policy aiming at 'recognizing and facilitating' various cultures (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 41).

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position in our country as soon as possible' and mentions nothing about what the host society can do.

Determining the aims of integration policy moves the analysis into that messy area Ball highlights (1994:15).<sup>28</sup> Part of the reason for this messiness is that policy aims and objectives are often hidden (Entzinger, 2000: 105) so that what is stated may not be what is intended.<sup>29</sup> *Integration* is the most commonly used term in current policy, and the stated political aim since the term expresses ‘acceptance of a certain amount of cultural diversity,’ ‘a certain amount of multiculturalism’ (Vermeulen, 1997: 146). However, Banton feels that the term is so commonly used because ‘there is no alternative expression which is not open to even greater objections’ (2001: 152).

Integration has not always been the preferred term. In the past, *assimilation* was the favored term (Entzinger, 2001: 321)<sup>30</sup>, but it is now considered ‘politically incorrect’ (Michalowski, 2004b: 4) and, as such, has fallen into disfavor (Pitkänen et al, 2002: 4; Brubaker, 2001: 533). The reason for this fall from favor is because *assimilation* describes a process whereby immigrants become like those already living in the country in all aspects (Hjerm, 2000: 368), a process where immigrants are ‘absorbed’ into the ‘hegemonic culture of the majority’ (Pitkänen et al, 2002: 4). Such ‘absorption’, seen as policy driven and forced on immigrants, is considered ‘morally and politically repugnant’ (Brubaker, 2001: 534). *Assimilation* defined in this manner means that integration is a success when it is no longer possible to distinguish the immigrant population from the native population (van der Loo et al, 2001:103), not a very politically correct way to think in an age when ‘diversity’ is the buzzword, (Bond and Pyle, 1998: 257), nor when absorption on such a scale into another culture is unlikely to happen.

A contradiction appears, however, when integration policy is analyzed, and is found to be *assimilationist* in nature even though the policies state that assimilation is not a necessary ‘precondition’ for integration to happen (Vermeulen, 1997: 146). Policy analysts try to smooth out these contradictions but the result is often a bit of a muddle

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<sup>28</sup> See the discussion on policy (2.2).

<sup>29</sup> Bacon asserts that this is increasingly common in all of Europe, that policy intent on integrating is more likely intent on curtailing immigration (2004: 46).

<sup>30</sup> Entzinger refers to ‘textbook assimilation’ in which ‘it even went so far as familiarising the newcomers with Dutch *cuisine!* (author’s italics) (2001: 322).



as seen in the following attempts. For Brubaker, integration and assimilation often carry the same meaning ‘in the European context’ (2001: 540). Integration and assimilation are ‘ideal types on opposites of a continuum’ (Hjerm, 2000: 368). Integration is ‘a process of adaptation, but not total assimilation’; integration is a goal ‘somewhere between assimilation and pluralism’ (Vermeulen, 1999: 12). Assimilation is a *direction of change*, not a particular *degree of similarity* (Brubaker, 2001: 534). *Integration* refers to ‘growing institutional participation’ by immigrants, but *acculturation* refers to ‘cultural change’ (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 8)<sup>31</sup>.

It is no wonder, then, that Banton sees the terms *integration* and *assimilation* as ‘treacherous words’ (2001: 154).

### 2.3.3 Dimensions of integration

The adjective *treacherous* conveys the feeling that examining the process of integration and/or assimilation is a step into insecure territory. Therefore, it helps that no matter how a country defines *integration*, there is general agreement in the literature that the process involves various dimensions, articulated as social, economic, cultural, political and civic (Council of Europe, 1997: 19; Schibel et al, 2002: 4; Crul et al, 1999; Vermeulen, 1997: 8). Using these dimensions helps to structure the discussion, even though the dimensions intersect and intertwine with each other. For example, ‘Dutch norms and values’ are considered as belonging to the ‘cultural’ or ‘socio-cultural’ dimension. However, if economic success is linked with an ‘assimilationist ethic’ (Halsey et al, 1997: 2), then adhering to a similar set of ‘norms and values’ is a condition for economic success. Thus, the economic and social-cultural dimensions intertwine and are dependent upon one another.

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<sup>31</sup> Entzinger and Biezeveld avoid using the term ‘assimilation’. They define ‘acculturation’ as a process of ‘taking over certain major elements of their (immigrants) surrounding cultural environment without completely abandoning their original cultural identity’. The definition involves shades of differences just like the definitions of Hjerm, Vermeulen and Brubaker but is essentially ‘assimilation’.

Additionally, the way these dimensions are structured in integration policy reflects the way a society views itself in relation to integration, rarely a view that is clear and concise (Churchill, 1984: 240). Instead, what often emerges is a 'story'<sup>32</sup> of 'tension'. For example, a state might have a constitutional view of itself as 'universalistic and individualistic', but the 'mandate' the state has is to operate as 'particularistic and collectivistic' (Barša, 2003: 1). Thus, in the economic dimension of 'integration', the state strives to make adult newcomers autonomous and economically 'independent', yet to do so may require policies targeted towards certain immigrant groups, resulting in actions that are 'particularistic', even 'collectivistic' in nature. This kind of 'tension' is also expressed as one between a 'pluralistic' and 'monolithic' view of society (Pitkänen et al, 2002: 3), or as tension between the individual and the group (Entzinger, 2000: 106).

Thus, the terms 'assimilation' and 'integration' are not easily defined, are in fact, often mixed in usage in policy, and highlight a larger tension in how a society views itself. This tension is one that plays itself out in the strain between the universalistic vs. the particularistic view, and/or the individualistic vs. the collectivistic view. Raz states that distilling out 'the truth of universalism' and 'the truth in particularism' is a major theoretical challenge to the multicultural society (1998: 194).

#### **2.3.4 Integration - multiculturalism**

This tension between the universalistic and the particularistic view of society (and its other manifestations mentioned above), has led to a debate in recent years about the merits of *multiculturalism*, the tenets of which aim to preserve the 'cultural distinctiveness' of a group (Vermeulen, 1997: 8). This debate is much too complex to deal with in any depth in this thesis, but it is important to grasp the major details of the debate in order to understand its impact on both past and present day integration policy.

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<sup>32</sup> See 2.2 Ozga who sees policy as 'story' (2000: 95-99).

First, a bit of history helps to make clearer this impact. Multiculturalism is not to be confused with ‘multicultural’, an adjective that describes a society in which people of different linguistic, cultural, ethnic or religious backgrounds live together. Most European societies have experienced immigration throughout their histories, bringing together people of different and various backgrounds (Bennett, 1998: 2). These countries have therefore, been ‘multicultural’ for a long time. *Multiculturalism* is, instead, a concept and an ideology (van den Berghe, 2002: 436), and one which has no clear meaning (Solomos and Schuter, 2000: 75). The term is ‘vague’ and one of the most over-used concepts in the entire field of integration issues (Vertovec, 1997).

However, given that ‘multiculturalism’ is not easily defined, there are still certain basic principles that are recognized. The tenets of multiculturalism accept that differences between groups exist which should be managed and supported by society, a kind of ‘doctrine of tolerance of ethnic differences’ (Bennett, 1998: 6). These tenets recognize that ‘culture’ is an integral part of every group and individual. ‘Culture’ is a ‘notoriously difficult’ concept to define, the meaning so complex as to lose its usefulness as an ‘analytic tool’ (Byram, 1989). Still, definitions abound. ‘... a way to describe human behaviour’ (Barth, 1969: 9), or a system of beliefs and practices in which humans understand their lives (Parekh, 2000: 143). Culture is concerned with ‘actions’ and ‘ideas’ (Masemann, 2003:116). It is a ‘common world of experiences, values and knowledge’ (Vermeulen, 2001: 3). Light-heartedly, culture is what people (in this case Americans) ‘recognize by their absence’ when they visit other countries (Menand, 2004: 92).

#### **2.3.4a ‘Culture’ in multiculturalism**

Defining *culture* can be ‘fraught with problems’ (Vermeulen, 1999: 8) as the definitions listed above attest to, as can understanding why culture is important in our lives. However, it is not so difficult to understand its importance if culture is a ‘resource’ that helps an individual build his/her life, a ‘moral resource’ that provides a ‘structure of values, beliefs and obligations’ (Kymlicka in Kelly, 2002: 8). If ‘culture’

has such importance in one's life, it would make sense that the aims of integration policy should guarantee, as much as possible, the maintenance of cultural practices and patterns of minority groups. However, when some of the major tenets of the debate are examined, it is clearly not so simple. In the following section, major objections to integration policy based on principles of multiculturalism are analyzed.

#### **2.3.4b Multiculturalism – debate issues**

One objection to policy based on the principles of multiculturalism is that it aims to 'preserve and protect'. Some argue that what is 'preserved and protected' may be increasingly ignored within the protected group (Edwards, 1999: 331). Traditional cultural practices in the country of immigration may no longer be useful over time (Edwards, 1999: 331; Ray, 2002: 2-3). What is more likely is that immigrants pick and choose cultural traits they need to succeed in their new lives, 'hesitating' between identification with the minority culture and identification with the majority culture (Churchill, 1984: 240). Such picking and choosing means that culture is not a static entity, but something in 'flux' (Wieviorka, 1998: 903). Integration policy that 'preserves and protects' culture may have the unintended result of 'fossilizing' it, 'forcing people into cultural straightjackets' (Entzinger, 2000: 113). Such straightjackets often 'reinforce exclusion' from the rest of society (Wieviorka, 1998: 892) and may even deprive an individual of the 'freedom to break off' from tradition (Habermas, 1995: 850).

Another objection to policy based on multicultural principles is that the aim to 'preserve and protect' minority cultures assumes protection *from something*, in this case the majority or dominant culture. The result is that a 'national' culture must be defined (Favell, 2003: 29) or fabricated since no 'one' culture really exists (Parekh, 2000: 197). The fabricated culture, 'an active ideological creation' ... 'masks profound cultural divisions of gender, race, class and region within a nation-state'

(Held et al, 1999: 369).<sup>33</sup> The dominant culture theory enforces an expectation that even those citizens who are illiberal profess adherence to national liberal values (Bauböck, 2002: 3). The impossibility, then, of defining a national culture makes the question addressed in 2.3 all the more relevant: if there is no one culture, what is one to integrate into (Favell, 2003: 29)?

Yet another objection to integration policy built on multicultural principles is that even though such policy may succeed in giving voice to individuals or groups that formerly had no voice, on the other hand, such policy ‘has spawned its own master narrative, silencing differences within the group (Solomos and Schuster, 2000: 84-5). Such policy may unintentionally facilitate cultural practices that run counter to majority norms and values, such as allowing the practice of polygamy (Okin, 1999) or ignoring the abuse of women (Simons, 2002).

Finally, policies based on multicultural principles are often seen by both the minority and majority populations as discriminatory. Living in a liberal democracy does not automatically guarantee that benefits are realized for all the ‘natives’ (May, 2003: 6-7). Resentment rises when resources are seen as misdirected towards immigrants when certain non-immigrant segments of society are in need. From an immigrant’s point of view, he/she is being told to integrate into a society where there exist many ‘variations in the extent to which members of the majority population can be considered integrated’ (Banton, 2001: 166).

#### **2.3.4c Multiculturalism and integration today**

The preceding paragraphs weigh in on the negative side of integration policy based on multicultural principles. The reason for the lopsidedness is that, in actuality, the debate is over, and as Bennett so clearly describes, multiculturalism has crumbled under ‘disillusion’ and ‘compassion fatigue’. Multiculturalism has gone from the

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<sup>33</sup> Giroux’s study of culture is also one that refutes ‘homogeneity’. It is constantly ‘shifting’ and heterogeneous’ (1992: 32).

'isolation ward of scare quotes into the grave yard' of unusable overused jargon (Bennett, 1998: 1). So why spend the space discussing it at all? Because as Bennett notes, even though multiculturalism has lost its fashion status, the 'cultural identity and authority, national self-confidence and democratic conscience, to which its promiscuous uses attested, show no signs of resolution' (ibid: 1). Besides, as was mentioned in 2.3.4, the reaction against multiculturalism has had a tremendous impact on the look of current integration policy, especially so in the Netherlands.

The death of 'multiculturalism' referred to above may be linked to a failure of redressing societal problems as regards integration, but may as well be that too much is expected of government and of integration policy, according to Doornik (1998: 75-6). Generally, integration is thought to have a positive result, one which exudes success and designates a 'well-functioning multi-cultural' society (Favell, 2003: 15) where new members enter in an ordered way without endangering the 'existing system' (Pitkänen et al, 2002: 3). Policy that fosters integration then, should, according to the literature intend positive outcomes.

However, designing specific policy for specific outcomes may not be possible (van der Loo et al, 2001: 103). It cannot be assumed, for example, that assimilationist policy leads to assimilation, or that multicultural policy leads to cultural diversity; perhaps even the opposite can be assumed (Vermeulen, 1999: 14). For example, it was thought that 'multicultural policy' taking account of 'ethnic differences' and 'minority interests' would 'provide better opportunities for the participation of minorities' (Entzinger, 2001: 336). However, critics believe exactly the opposite happened. The result 'hampered integration', 'emphasized ethnic identities' and resulted in 'increasing ethnic segregation' (Berger and Vermeulen, 2001). Nor can it be assumed that having integration policy is better than having none. The Dutch are looking at a failure of integration policy over the past thirty years (Entzinger, 2004: 9), while Germany, a country with 'a virtually non-existent integration policy' until a few years ago, considers itself successful at integrating immigrants into the economy (Koopmans, 2003: 3).

Entzinger argues that another reason for this disconnect between policy and results is that the intent is often hidden (2000: 105). Current integration policies in the Netherlands, for example, are understood to be more ‘immigration control policies’ than ‘integration’ policies (Doomernick et al, 1997: 24). Another reason for this disconnect between policy and results is what Horowitz calls the ‘elusive line’ between policy that intends to ‘accommodate’, and that which is eventually adopted ‘in pursuance of conflict objectives of particular groups’ (Horowitz, 1985: 577). The public, for example, demands policies that ‘bear fruit...measured in the brief span between elections’ (Penninx, 2003). Finally, policies may be based on a mixture of multicultural/assimilationist intents, sometimes within the same country, and even within the same policy (Vermeulen, 1997, 153).

For all the aforementioned reasons, *measuring* the success of integration is difficult (van het Loo et al, 2001: 103). Even if ‘standards’ are formulated in one country, they vary from the standards set for the next (Werth et al, 1997: 11; Fitzgerald, 1997: 65-77) making comparative studies difficult (Doomernick, 1998: 17). Stating then, that ‘the best test of ethnic accommodation is an evaluation of consequence not intentions’ (Horowitz, 1985: 577) may be true, but still ignores the complications of measuring those ‘consequences’.

## Summary

‘Integration’, the second of a set of factors used to guide the data collection and analysis, is not an easily defined concept (2.3). It follows then, that integration ‘policy’ which deals with how immigrants integrate into society, has objectives that are difficult to define and measure (2.3.1). Additionally, even though ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ are defined separately, the objectives of integration policy are often ‘hidden’ so that what is stated may not be what is intended (2.3.2). Analysis of integration policy reveals tensions in the way a society views itself as ‘universalistic/particularistic’ and/or ‘individualistic/collectivistic’ (2.3.3), tensions manifested in the debate on ‘multiculturalism’ (2.3.4). Although multiculturalism is

considered passé, its influence is still felt in present day policy (2.3.4b), especially in the reaction against it (2.3.4c).

The literature analysis on ‘integration’ and its associated topics suggest that the analysis of data for this thesis will encounter similar difficulties pinning down a clear definition of integration and will, most likely, encounter tensions in Dutch society that relate to the ‘universalistic/particularistic’ and/or ‘individualistic/collectivistic’ tensions. In addition, the literature indicates that integration policy aims and goals may not match results.

## 2.4 Norms and values

This section analyzes the literature regarding ‘norms and values’, the third factor in a set of six that guide data collection and analysis. The importance of ‘norms and values’ is central to the research question:

*From the view of policy, policy makers, and those who influence integration policy, how does education play a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values?*

### 2.4.1 Norms and values - define

The analysis begins by examining how a norm or value is defined in the literature, but as with the other terms important to this thesis, such as ‘policy’ (2.2) and ‘integration’ (2.3), defining these terms is not easy, actually ‘virtually impossible’ (de Beer, 2004:16). Values are opinions about how things should be, are guides to what we perceive as ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Values cannot be proven right or wrong and are subject to change, such that what is best for one individual may not be so good for another. Inevitably, there are conflicts over which values to accept.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Phrases were summarized from various internet sites listed under ‘values’.



Norms are less abstract, and therefore definitions are easier to agree on. Norms apply to behavior. There are moral, legal and social norms. All three lead to obligations and are supported by a broad spectrum of the population.<sup>35</sup> 'Norms express an agreement that obtains in a social group'. Members of a group are entitled to expect certain behaviour (Habermas, 1984: 85).

de Beer, in *Do unto others*, a book on 'norms and values' sponsored by the Dutch government, devotes several pages to the definition of these terms, but concludes that 'values and norms are often mentioned in one and the same breath and have gradually merged to become almost the same thing' (2004: 22). Gratefully, then, for the purpose of this thesis, the phrase *norms and values* will be used without great attention to their differences, unless it is obviously important to do so.

In examining the literature on integration and 'norms and values', certain categories where norms and values dominate are distinguishable, according to Blommaret and Verschueren (1998). One category concerns the values and principles belonging to a category of 'public order' or the law. Immigrants, like everyone else, must learn what these laws are and obey them. The second category concerns 'guiding social principles' which the non-immigrant majority seem to understand and agree about implicitly. This set of values is 'vague' and relates to modernity - women's emancipation, for example, and tolerance. Immigrants must adapt to these guiding social principles, 'as we understand them'. It is assumed that by deviating from these principles, as vague as they are, 'the foundations of our society' are at risk' (1998: 121). The third category concerns values contained in 'cultural expressions', perceived as non-threatening to the larger society. This category is the only one of the three where difference is 'tolerated', including expressions of art and music, cuisine, and home language (1998: 120). For purposes of this research, it is the second category that holds the most interest, relating to the teaching of those 'vague'

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<sup>35</sup> Much of the information regarding norms and values is from de Beers et al (2004: 9-26).

principles that play such an important role in defining an immigrant as an ‘integrated’ person.

Examination of the literature also substantiates agreement that European (western) democratic societies share certain basic values that stem from an Enlightenment tradition<sup>36</sup> and include a belief in the future; reason and reasonableness; personal freedom and autonomy; universal rights of man; equality (formal under the law) and justice (de Beer, 2004: 54; Joppke, 2003: 12). Such values, abstract in their nature, are difficult to ‘disagree’ about.<sup>37</sup> Even so, there is a ‘presumption’ that immigrants do not share in such values (Vertovec, 1997), and it is this lack of shared values that is considered ‘the most important source of conflict’ among immigrants and non-immigrants today, threatening social cohesion, and on a nation-state level, representing a threat to national identity (Crul et al, 1999: 206).<sup>38</sup>

Also, as has been mentioned in 2.3.3, integration policy is frequently developed and measured according to various dimensions. The cultural dimension is considered the ‘decisive dimension’<sup>39</sup> since it is the ‘cultural’ that expresses the value system (Masemann, 2003: 117) and in this dimension newcomers are often judged as ‘integrated’ or ‘poorly adapted’, as ‘different’ or ‘inferior’ (May, 2003: 8). However, since values are so difficult to define, as discussed above, and include one’s ‘life style’ (Kalsbeek, 2002), what criteria are used to make these judgements? As Kalsbeek states, these judgments are made in the dimension which is the most difficult to measure (2002).

#### **2.4.2 Norms and values – social cohesion**

The importance of the cultural dimension is due, in part, to its perceived relationship to social cohesion and the corresponding perception that society is ‘disintegrating’, a

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<sup>36</sup> See footnote 44 (page 46) where ‘implied universalism’ is discussed.

<sup>37</sup> In fact, de Beer states that the more abstract the values are, the easier they are to agree on (2004: 19).

<sup>38</sup> Crul et al are referring to Dutch society.

<sup>39</sup> The other dimensions are the economic, political, and civic.

most ‘chilling’ term (Favell, 2001: 351).<sup>40</sup> Fear of ‘moral decay and fragmentation of national community’ has resulted in calls to ‘upgrade’ norms and values in order to promote social cohesion (Crul et al, 1999: 202). ‘Difference’, according to Kamali, is seen as ‘absence of value’ and is therefore targeted as the cause of moral decay (2000: 192). ‘Difference’ is, therefore, problematic while ‘likeness’ in traditions, values, and practices is heralded as the stuff of a cohesive society (Vertovec, 1997).

In this atmosphere of distrust over ‘difference’, Crul et al note that the Dutch public has demanded action be taken on the part of the government (1999: 202). The result has been a shift in the aims and objectives of integration policy from the maintenance of ‘difference’ or the maintenance of one’s own cultural values, to a requirement that immigrants ‘adjust’ themselves to ‘objective norms and rules’ (Kamali, 2000: 182). According to the literature, this ‘adjusting’ process looks a lot like assimilation (Crul et al, 1999: 206-7).

#### **2.4.3 Norms and values - assimilation**

In **2.3.2**, the analysis centered on the meaning of assimilation. What is one supposed to assimilate into? When is a group or individual finally assimilated? What does it mean when the European Commission states that immigrants must respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process, ‘without having to relinquish their own identity’ (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 17)? According to May, ‘respecting fundamental norms and values’ can be used by certain segments of society as a way of keeping the doors shut for entry into the structural (economic, political) dimensions of integration (2003: 8) while continually re-inventing the criteria for full assimilation (ibid: 11).

The discussion on assimilation with regards to norms and values raises the issue once again of how a society views itself in relation to integration,<sup>41</sup> specifically as it involves tensions between the universalistic and particularistic views. This

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<sup>40</sup> See the discussion on social cohesion (**2.6**).

<sup>41</sup> See the discussion on integration (**2.3**).

universalistic/particularistic tension is the focus of Parekh<sup>42</sup> and Kymlicka<sup>43</sup>, prominent political theorists who explore the concept of the liberal democratic society based on 'universal moral principles'<sup>44</sup> or 'norms'. They reflect on the view that conflicting moral principles, such as those that might be introduced by minority cultures, can be adjudicated from these 'neutral' principles. Parekh does not accept the neutrality of these 'universal' principles, nor does Kymlicka. Both argue against the 'unitary republican model' of universal principles, Kymlicka calling them nothing more than 'promissory notes' (2001: 44). Parekh stresses instead the centrality of 'dialogue', a process meant to determine an 'operative public morality' (Kelly, 2001: 431). Dialogue arrives at 'universal values' and ensures that minorities have a say in what is meaningful (Parekh, 2000: 128). Parekh sees this 'pluralist universalism' (Horton, 2001: 308) as the way to mitigate the conflicting demands of 'unity' and 'diversity' in a multicultural society (Parekh, 2000: 197).

This 'operative public morality' arrived at through dialogue must, however, be based on a society that is open and tolerant (Kelly, 2001: 435), the dialogue not distorted by dominant views (ibid: 434). In *Chapter Four-Analysis of Data*, just such a 'dialogue' is examined when the city of Rotterdam conducts open public debates on the issue of 'norms and values in a multicultural society' and on other topics affecting the integration of minorities. These debates are analyzed with Parekh's 'dialogue' in mind.

#### **2.4.4 Norms and values – autonomy and toleration**

This section moves the analysis from the definition of norms and values in abstract terms (universal moral principles) and an analysis of their relationship to social

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<sup>42</sup> October 11 2000 saw the publication of the Parekh report: the report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. Set up by the Runnymede Trust in 1998 the commission consisted of 23 distinguished individuals chaired by Bikhu Parekh.

<sup>43</sup> Will Kymlicka is presently Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy, Dept. of Philosophy, Queen's University and author of *Multicultural Citizenship*, 1995.

<sup>44</sup> McLeannan (2001: 986) and Raz (2001) challenge the thesis of universal values and principles. Bourdieu states 'the universal is never power-neutral. And its defenders always have a certain interest in it' (Stratton & Ang, 1998:146).

cohesion and assimilation, to a more concrete analysis of what the literature says about 'autonomy', and 'tolerance'.

'Autonomy' is a societal value which has garnered a lot of attention in Europe lately. Also referred to in the literature as 'individualism' (belief in independent thought or action) and/or self-determination (the right of an individual to determine his/her own destiny), 'personal autonomy' is considered central among all the individualistic values liberal democratic nations adhere to (Gray, 2000: 329; Audigier, 1998: 6). This 'privileging' of autonomy however, causes problems for minority cultures that do not value 'autonomy' (Kymlicka, 2001: 19). Such groups, in order to integrate, must learn to 'cultivate' autonomy according to Mendus (1995: 194), especially to survive in the competitive atmosphere of a capitalistic society (Kelly, 2001: 430).

For such reasons, many western European countries are stating clearly in their integration policy that 'autonomy' is a value that must be cultivated in order to integrate successfully (Gray, 2000: 328). The cultivation of such a value replaces previous integration policy based on 'particularistic' principles focusing on the maintenance of group culture and language (Joppke, 2003: 9). This shift in policy aims and goals to 'individualisation' emerges along with another major societal shift, the drive to dismantle the 'welfare' state and replace it with a model dependent on 'individualized consumers', making the market the 'primary basis for practically all forms of social provision' (Vertovec, 1999: 3).<sup>45</sup> Again, it is the 'individual responsibility' of all citizens which is stressed (Crul et al, 1999: 201). 'Strengthening the position of the individual' is also impacted by globalization, the force of which is seen to weaken the power of state institutions (Straubhaar, 2003: 13-4) and thus increase the power of the individual.

As noted above, norms and values which stress independence and self-reliance can be at variance with the norms of some immigrant groups (Scheltema et al, 2001: 50) who

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<sup>45</sup> The emphasis on 'market place' values are seen by some as 'essentially amoral' conflicting with democratic values concerned about religious, ethical and moral issues (Grace: 1997: 312).

may be more 'collectivistic' or group-oriented in their value systems.<sup>46</sup> Not valuing 'autonomy' however, does not mean these groups aren't doing well on certain other 'indices of well-being' (Gray, 2000: 328). Such indices include family and religion, two valued societal institutions which are often diminished 'within a moral framework which gives centrality to self-assessment and autonomy' (Mendus, 1995: 200). The impact on newcomers is that 'autonomy' or 'individualization' becomes the main objective in the personal, social and economic dimensions of integration policy (Michalowski, 2004b: 4), making 'individualism' itself an institution (Habermas: 1992: 150). In *Analysis of Data-Chapter Four*, the aims and objectives of the integration policy in the Netherlands are analyzed to see how the state intends to 'ready the soil', so to speak, for cultivating individualization.

#### **2.4.4a Toleration**

Toleration is the second of the two societal values to be analyzed in this section. It has been elevated to the level of a 'value' in western democratic societies (Gaeleotti, 1997: 225) since it suggests a liberal spirit towards the views and actions of others. Even though toleration is 'situated at the level of individual attitudes and behaviour' (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998: 173), it is also understood to be a national value, and perhaps no place more so than in the Netherlands (Scheffer et al, 2003: 34). The reputation of the Dutch as a 'tolerant' people had its origins in the 'Verzuiling' or 'pillarization' system from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a system that did not decline until the mid 1960s. 'Pillars' were systems organized along religious lines: Calvinists, Dutch Reformed, Catholics, socialists (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001: 294), each group having its own political parties, schools, newspapers, libraries, hospitals, businesses. There was little contact between people in the various pillars in their daily lives except for those leaders at the top where there was a 'high degree of cooperation' (ibid: 294-5). The pillar system was 'a kind of pact' meant to thwart religious clashes and to ensure peace (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001: 302; Koopmans and Statham, 2000: 38), an organizational system meant to prevent 'persecution and fearfulness' (Walzer: 1997: 98).

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<sup>46</sup> See discussion on individualistic/collectivistic (**2.3.3**).

Dutch society, under the pillar system, was a socially segmented one, even though the groups had similar shared values derived from Christian and humanistic beliefs, a similar history and a similar language. The pillars '*shared the same roof*' (author's italics) (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001: 296). The collapse, when it began, was due to various reasons, one of which was immigration from countries like Turkey and Morocco which 'introduced' very different cultures, different languages and Islamic laws, marking the end of the shared roof concept (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001: 297).

The challenge then became one of reconciling the tradition of a tolerant society with the new cultural pluralism (Gray, 2000: 327), a process that put the concept of toleration under scrutiny as to its layered meanings and achievements. Toleration, known to promote 'peaceful co-existence' between peoples of different histories and cultures (Walzer, 1997: 2), was now seen as incurring a relationship of 'inequality' - a relationship of 'generosity towards them' sort of thinking (Vertovec, 1997). 'To tolerate someone is an act of power; to be tolerated is an acceptance of weakness' (Walzer, 1997: 52). Toleration incurred 'indifference' (Audigier, 1998: 10), and integration policy based on toleration was now seen as 'glossing over' real and pressing problems in society (Michalowski, 2005: 2).

The notion that toleration meant an acceptance of 'differences' now needed qualification since the tolerant society, it was discovered, has limits (Audigier, 1998:10) as to how much 'diversity' can be tolerated (Parekh in Vertovec, 1997). 'The European does not become intolerant' until a certain threshold is crossed (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 78). That threshold involved being asked to accept what the 'tolerant majority' deemed to be 'intolerant practices', or worse, accepting those who were themselves 'intolerant' (Vertovec, 1997). It also involved accepting newcomers whose cultures were immersed in the collective model while the Dutch had abandoned the collective pillarized model in exchange for the more 'individualistic' one (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001: 297).

Toleration has also become synonymous, according to Koopmans, with a 'culture' of 'lax law enforcement' and a culture of 'looking the other way'. It is interesting then to ask what impression this 'culture of toleration' has on adult immigrants, especially young adults, who may not see 'civilized tolerance' in the same way as the Dutch, but rather of a state and nation that do not take themselves seriously' (2003).<sup>47</sup>

#### **2.4.5 Islam**

The inclusion of 'Islam' in a section on the analysis of 'norms and values', has to do with the focus of the present integration debate and the goals and objectives of integration policy in Europe, especially in the Netherlands. The tone of the debate has become one of 'us' vs. 'them'. Differences between the indigenous non-immigrant population and 'immigrants' from the EU and other developed countries like the United States and Japan are 'glossed over', while the term 'immigrant' has become synonymous with 'Muslim'. Islam has become the defining trait of a migrant (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 155-6). This connection between a 'migrant' and Islam reflects the sense that culture and religion in the Islamic world 'simply coincide' (ibid: 97), a view that negates the wide range of different countries, cultures and beliefs that Muslims represent ((Michalwoski, 2005: 3).

In Holland, the view that Islam is not compatible with a liberal democratic society was publicly stated in 1991 by the liberal leader Frits Bolkestein who singled out Islam as a threat to Dutch tolerance (Schedler and Glastra, 2000: 54): 'Christianity, rationalism, and humanism have provided the western world with values such as the division between church and state, freedom of expression, non-discrimination and tolerance, and the Islamic world is much less advanced in that respect' (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 62). Such views are expressed frequently in Europe today, placing Islam and Muslims at the center of the multicultural debate (de Beer, 2004: 61). The argument, as Kymlicka might respond, is that such a view of Islam is a

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<sup>47</sup> Fermin confirms this lack of enforcement as municipalities do not often enforce sanctions required by integration policy (2000).



‘fantasy’, since the majority of Muslims want to participate in society and accept the principles of a modern democratic state.<sup>48</sup>

This view that culture and religion ‘coincide’ is a view that most Dutch Christians would reject, even though from the perspective of a Muslim, culture and religion in the Netherlands seem deeply interconnected. It is a connection that binds church and state together through government financing of schools, hospitals, media channels, and social work, all religiously based. ‘God be with us’ is engraved on the euro, parliament is opened with a prayer from the Catholic and Protestant faiths (an Islamic and Hindu prayer are now added) (Koopmans: 2003: 4). Koopman might have added that church bells toll at noon, and the majority of national holidays celebrate Christian holy events.

This view of Dutch society from the perspective of a practicing Muslim immigrant might collide with the Dutch who view themselves as ‘modern and enlightened’ and secular, according to Ireland (2000: 244). So too might studies that show immigrants are not hired, not because they lack certain qualifications but because of *who* they are (Thränhardt, 2000: 176; Koopmans, 2003: 3).

## Summary

2.4 through 2.4.5 analyzed the literature regarding ‘norms and values’, with an emphasis on the values of autonomy and toleration. In 2.4.1, the analysis showed that norms and values are vague, general and difficult to define. Additionally, there is a presumption that immigrants do not share certain basic values of a liberal democratic society. In 2.4.2, the analysis showed that the loss of social cohesion is often linked to the issue of values and norms. Such a connection has resulted in a shift of objectives in integration policy which stresses the need for newcomers to ‘adjust’ to the norms and values of the dominate society (2.4.2) and (2.4.3). This adjustment, analyzed in

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<sup>48</sup> *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe*, Jytte Klausen (Oxford University Press) became available December, 2005. The Economist states that her research confirms that Muslims in Europe are ‘overwhelmingly secular in outlook and supportive of core liberal values’ (October 27<sup>th</sup> 2005).

**2.4.3**, reveals that tensions exist between a particularistic and an individualistic view of society, tensions which may be mitigated through ‘dialogue’. The analysis of **2.4.4** and **2.4.4a** revealed that most western democratic societies consider it essential that newcomers adopt the values of ‘autonomy’ and ‘toleration’ in order to successfully integrate. In **2.4.5**, Islam was analyzed in relation to the norms and values debate, showing that tensions are increasing between perceived differences in the value systems of Islam and western society.

The literature analysis on ‘norms and values’ and the associated topics suggest that in the analysis of data (*Chapter Four*), it will be difficult to clearly define Dutch norms and values. The literature analysis also suggests that tensions will be revealed in Dutch society which relate to norms and values and which may be rooted in the ‘universalistic/particularistic’ and/or ‘individualistic/collectivistic’ tensions.

## **2.5 The city as site of research**

The forth factor in a set of six that guide data collection and analysis concerns the ‘city’ as an important site of research in relation to integration. The analysis of the literature found a consensus of the city’s importance. There are several forces at work which account for this importance. One has to do with the force of globalization.<sup>49</sup>

The following quote by Cross et al testify to the enormity of these forces:

Our world is being transformed at the local level by forces that appear to emanate from somewhere well beyond our shores. It always has, but during the last decades, the pace has accelerated enormously. The local level is, to a large extent, synonymous with cities. Urban areas rather than states are the nexus of the movement of people, ideas, investment, communications and technology. Migration, and its repercussions, is an important element of this globalisation mix. Migration is targeted to cities rather than countries, which means that ethnic minority groups tend to be concentrated in particular cities rather than evenly dispersed throughout a country (2000:14)

Crossley also notes that globalization prompts ‘different local responses’ (2003: 61), which in the context of this research means ‘responses’ to integration. Cross et al note

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<sup>49</sup> See discussion on globalization (**2.6.3**).

that, interestingly, such responses, what the authors call 'local level differences in integration practices,' can vary more between cities in the same country than between countries (2000: 52)

The second force at work that gives the city importance as a site of integration is that the local is where things are worked on. 'It is at the local level that practical ideas are tested, adapted and re-tested' (Papademetriou, 2003). 'It is primarily at this local level in fact that the integration of immigrants takes place' (Rex, 2000: 64). Ray suggests that the success of integration programs depend on being 'grounded' in the particular circumstances of the city (2002: 4). The city thus becomes the site 'for the manifestation and contestation' of new political forms (Vertovec: 1999: 20), and it is here that the tensions between the national and local governments are played out (Penninx: 2003: 1). Favell sees the city as the best site for the 'analysis of migrant policy' (2001: 389).

The brevity of this analysis does not correspond to its lack of importance. It does, however, attest to an agreement in the literature that the 'city' plays an important role in the integration process, and thus supports the choice of focusing on a city for this research.

## 2.6 Social Cohesion

*... while we are rarely presented with views of what a high degree of social cohesion might look like, we are bombarded with descriptions of the lack of social cohesion...(Vertovec, 1997).*<sup>50</sup>

'Social cohesion' is the fifth factor in a set of six that guides the data collection and analysis. As Vertovec states in the quote above, social cohesion is more readily noted for its absence than for its presence. Ichilov notes that social cohesion is coveted in an age of uncertainty (1998: 265). The next sections analyze the literature to see how

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<sup>50</sup> [http://www.international.metropolis.net/research-policy/social/index\\_e.html](http://www.international.metropolis.net/research-policy/social/index_e.html)

social cohesion is bound up with the debate on integration and the debate on norms and values. Related issues of the nation-state and globalization are also analyzed.

### **2.6.1 Social cohesion and integration**

Vertovec (1997), in the quote above, refers to being ‘bombarded’ with descriptions of a society where social cohesion is lacking. He notes that it is as if things were supposedly ‘better’ in the past, as if society has fallen from ‘a state of grace’. There are indeed indications that society has ‘fallen’: high crime rates<sup>51</sup>, joblessness, high numbers of welfare recipients, a decline in social services, a decline in educational standards, a feeling of distrust among neighbors; ‘a broad consensus’ exists that ‘...the quality of our public and civic life has declined alarmingly...’ (Vertovec: *ibid*). However, the existence of these sorts of societal problems is not new. What is new is the perception that immigration and immigrants who have not integrated into society are one of the major sources of the problem. Failure to integrate is seen as contributing, in a significant way, to the breakdown in social order (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 66-71; de Beer, 2004: 62; Vertovec, 1997; van Amersfoort, 1999: 157). In *Diversity and Cohesion*, a report prepared for the Council of Europe, it is stated that the ‘integration of immigrants...is one of the pillars of social cohesion’ (Niessen, 2000: 10). The perception is that a society that is ‘not falling apart’ is one that is integrated (May, 2003: 1). In countries and cities of high immigration, ‘integration’ thus becomes the main focus of policy objectives, in order to restore society, it may be said, to Vertovec’s mythical ‘state of grace’.

According to the Council of Europe, one of the aims and goals of policy meant to foster ‘integration’ should be to promote ‘positive community relations’ through political, economic, cultural and legal ‘environments’. The report states that such ‘positive’ relations must be ‘favorable to diversity’ (Niessen, 2000: 10), an idea referred to throughout the report: ‘...cohesion can be promoted when diversity is

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<sup>51</sup> **1.3** mentioned the high number of immigrants in prison in the Netherlands, which Entzinger & Biezeveld state may be more a reflection of the offenders not being accepted by society as opposed to the offenders not accepting Dutch norms and values (2003: 24).

valued' (ibid: 38). One problem, however, is that many versions of cohesion are thought to contain a 'homogeneous' element (Vertovec: 1997). This homogeneous element is most clearly expressed in the 'cultural' dimensions of integration.<sup>52</sup> May ponders the relationship between the cultural and structural dimensions of integration,<sup>53</sup> and concludes there are two ways in which 'integration' into society occurs. One demands 'a far-reaching assimilation to the dominant norms and practices in the cultural dimension 'before' granting equality of opportunity in the structural dimension.' The other view demands 'equality of opportunity in the structural dimension' as 'a prerequisite for successful adaptation'<sup>54</sup> in the cultural dimension' (2003: 7). Both views stress that assimilation or adaptation is required into the cultural dimension, views that seem not to have 'diversity' as a goal. Therefore, if the findings in the Council of Europe's report on diversity and social cohesion are valid, a process of integration that lacks a means of promoting 'diversity' signals problems for social cohesion. Ray is clear, in fact, that the whole premise of assimilation to 'a nebulous western cultural standard' as the 'only path to social cohesion' (2002: 4) is faulty.

### **2.6.2 Social cohesion - welfare - integration**

Another way that integration policy fosters this 'state of grace' is to set forth aims and objectives that 'reduce social inequality' (Churchill, 2003: 26). In welfare states, such as those which define much of Western Europe, social inequality is frequently linked to 'economic' inequality. Such inequality is regarded not only as 'morally unacceptable' but 'dangerous' since one possible result is 'marginalization', a main source of conflict and tension (van Amersfoort, 1999: 156), especially when marginalization runs along ethnic lines (Doomernik, 1998: 3). In times of economic downturn, as happened in the Netherlands in the 70s, it is primarily low skilled jobs that disappear, and immigrants who are the first to be unemployed. During these

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<sup>52</sup> See discussion on socio-economic, political and cultural dimensions (**2.3.3**).

<sup>53</sup> May defines the cultural dimension to include attitude, behaviour, norms, morals, etc. The structural dimension is the position of immigrants in the economic, social, political and spatial systems (2003: 5-6).

<sup>54</sup> Odé and Veenman (2003) are presently researching whether cultural integration is a prerequisite for structural integration (in Hagendoorn et al).

times of economic downturns, there have been calls to restructure the welfare state, seen as burdened by high numbers of unemployed, which again, are perceived to be mostly immigrants.

Thus, economic restructuring has been a major ‘force’ in dismantling ‘the institutions of the post-war welfare state’ which has been accompanied by a rise in the ‘neo-liberal’ political philosophy. ‘...a key aspect of its vision of society is bringing the market principle, along with notions of self-responsibility and individualism, to almost every sphere of politics, economics and society’ (Vertovec, 1997).<sup>55</sup> In democratic welfare states, marginalized groups have rights to welfare benefits, a situation neo-conservative groups use to ‘capitalize on discontent’ in order to scale down benefits and placate those in the society who believe welfare benefits act to ‘pull in more immigrants’ (Brochmann, 1999: 316).<sup>56</sup> It would be expected that the ‘discontent’ over welfare and ‘immigrants on welfare’ manifests itself in integration policy in the guise of ‘market principles’ and the promotion of self-responsibility and individualism, issues that are examined in *Chapter Four*.

### **2.6.3 Social cohesion – globalization - integration**

The economic restructuring discussed above is linked to economic changes occurring on a global scale. These changes involve ‘movements’ of people, generally from less-developed economies to more advanced ones which embodies ‘the complex process of globalization in a very palpable sense’ (Rath et al, 2002). Additionally, it involves movement of ‘capital, jobs, and manufacturing to areas of the globe where labour is cheaper’ on a massive scale (Vertovec, 1997). Carlton states, it is ‘a process of systemic elimination of institutional and technological obstacles to the movement and profitability of financial capital’ (in Crossley and Watson, 2003: 103). Held et al describe what is happening as a ‘perception’ that the world is being ‘molded into a shared social space by economic and technological forces and developments in one

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<sup>55</sup> Individualism (autonomy) is discussed in **2.4.4**.

<sup>56</sup> ‘By far, the greatest number of (welfare) offenders ... are Dutch citizens’ (van Amersfoort, 1999: 160).

region of the world' which 'have profound consequences for the life chances of individuals or communities on the other side of the globe' (1999:2).

Workers caught up in such movements that cause economic restructuring are often 'severely impacted' (Vertovec, 1997), resulting in '...high levels of unemployment, an increase in part-time employment, more insecure and low-paid jobs...' (Cross et al, 2000: 73). Insecurity and joblessness cause 'deterioration' of hope for the future, and an increase in 'social marginalization' (Doomernik et al, 1997: 12). Such a situation is especially harmful when many of the unemployed are immigrants already on the fringes of society due to language and cultural differences. Thus, a chain of effects is set up. Globalization results in large scale unemployment which hits immigrant groups especially hard. Already on the margins of society, resentment towards the immigrant groups increases. Resentment between groups in society is one of the factors which weakens the fabric of social cohesion.<sup>57</sup> Thus, globalization has 'indirect' and 'unsolicited consequences' (Doomernick, 1998:2; Penninx, 1998).

#### **2.6.4 Social cohesion - the nation state – integration**

As was discussed in 2.6.1, the perceived failure of integration is seen as a threat to the social cohesiveness of a society. This threat is currently seen by some as a threat to the nation-state itself (Vertovec, 1997). The reason for this perception involves a bit of history into the rise of the nation-state. It is suggested that, in the past, communities organized along 'ethnic, religious, social, territorial' identities (Parekh, 2000: 183), an arrangement thought to have been quite tolerant of the expression of linguistic, religious and cultural differences (Vermeulen: 1999: 10).<sup>58</sup> The rise of the nation-state in the nineteenth century, however, was facilitated by a weakening of these differences, and a corresponding strengthening of the 'linguistically and culturally homogeneous' identities (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 103; Parekh,

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<sup>57</sup> Hargreaves describes this as a movement from cultures of certainty to cultures of uncertainty (1997: 345).

<sup>58</sup> Barry believes that nationalism was a response to the 16<sup>th</sup>. and 17<sup>th</sup>. century religious wars 'that made much of Europe a living hell' (2001: 21).

2000: 7-9). A 'common ethnicity, a common language, and a common culture' now constituted the bonds of nationhood (Raz: 1998: 195).

From one perspective, the rise of the nation-state was seen as emancipating individuals from the conformity of the group, or worse, from the 'tyranny' of the group. But from another perspective, if the success of the nation-state relied on a socially and culturally 'homogenized' (Parekh, 2000: 7-9) and territorially bonded peoples, then the conformity and/or tyranny of the group was only transformed, not eliminated, by the conformity demanded by the nation-state. Thus, what transpires today is that socially, culturally and linguistically different groups are often perceived as threats to the stability of the nation-state, especially when such groups attempt to maintain differences. Parekh, for one, agrees that such diversity (cultural/linguistic) is threatening the nation-state, since the very factors that allowed for the development of the modern nation-state, 'unity of territory, sovereignty and culture' ... are 'fast disintegrating' due to the immigration of diverse groups (2000: 194).

Others, however, argue that the nation state continues to be strong (Koopmans and Statham, 2000: 13-57; Smith, 2000). The challenge, they feel, is for the nation state to maintain 'social cohesion and the liberal conceptions of individual rights' (Koopmans and Statham: 193-4) but in doing so the state may lose its 'pivotal role in migration and ethnic relations politics' (ibid: 45).

The debate surrounding the nation state, then, is not about whether it is being challenged, since it seems to be so, but rather how it should respond to these challenges. As Bennett (1998: 1) noted in **2.3.4**, issues related to multiculturalism have not disappeared. The challenge for the nation-state then, from one angle, is to strengthen the homogeneous bonds of the past, but without ignoring justifiable opposition to inequities (Churchill, 2003: 26). From another angle, the challenge of the nation-state is to allow for the expression of the particularities of history, experience, and culture all of us possess, without trapping us in those particulars (Stuart Hall in May, 1999: 33). The state, it seems, has to find a balance in integration



policy between allowing for the expression of the particular, yet keeping the bonds of the universal. As Walzer states, perhaps the challenge is to ‘...never be consistent defenders of multiculturalism or individualism; ... never be simply communitarians or liberals, or modernists or postmodernists, but ... be now one, now the other, as the balance requires (1997: 112).

As regards the formulation of integration policy at the present time, Favell believes that the thinking is ‘very much set by the imperatives of the singular nation-state’ and goes largely unquestioned (2003: 19). Such formulation of policy ignores the outlook of the global or ‘transnational’ groups and individuals who are often the focus of the policy (ibid: 34). Nation-states behave as if they were ‘self-contained and isolated’ (Alexander et al, 2000: 26) while integration policy ignores the fact that it ‘must be global in nature’ since economic changes and technological developments know ‘no boundaries’ (ibid: 26). Residing in a new land no longer means losing contact with home and family. Travel is easier and less-costly, as is phoning, using the internet, keeping current with events in the homeland. As a result, Castells sees a ‘breakdown of relationships with neighbors and communities (in the new land) ‘...having a deleterious effect on traditional values and social coherence (in Crossley and Watson, 2003: 55). ‘The place and role of the nation-state in policy development’ therefore, must respond to such changes (ibid: 67).

These conditions which strengthen the ties of immigrants to their home countries and weaken their ties to new neighborhoods, along with the political pressures on the nation-state to become less ‘isolated’, create a feeling in receiving countries that immigrants have no need to integrate and little desire to do it (Doomernik et al, 1997). A perception grows that the nation-state is being ‘challenged by threats of globalization from without and pluralization from within...’ (Koopmans and Statham 2000: 1).

## Conclusion

**2.6** through **2.6.4** analyzes the literature on social cohesion as it relates to integration. Most societies know 'social cohesion' by its absence. Those immigrants who are seen as not integrated, are perceived to be at the center of the debate on the loss of social cohesion. While studies show that valuing 'diversity' is important for a socially cohesive society, policies often promote the opposite - assimilation (adaptation) into the cultural dimension of integration, the area concerned with norms and values (**2.6.1**). The rise in neo-liberal politics promotes a weakened welfare state, market principles, and attitudes of independence and responsibility within public policy. (**2.6.2**). Globalization is seen to indirectly affect social cohesion by causing disruption in the economic sector, disproportionately affecting immigrants (**2.6.3**). Immigration is seen as a threat to the nation-state, immigrants remaining in close contact with their countries of origin through technological innovations (**2.6.4**).

The literature analysis suggests that *Chapter Four-Analysis of Data* will confirm the importance of social cohesion as a main factor in the debate on integration. The analysis should reveal whether 'diversity' is valued in integration policy as a way of promoting social cohesion or whether policy promotes 'assimilation' instead. The analysis should also reveal whether neo-liberal politics influence current integration policy, promoting market principles and qualities of independence and responsibility. Additionally, the analysis should determine whether or not globalization is a factor in social cohesion, and finally, whether the nation-state, whose stability is seen as dependent upon a homogeneously unified population, is seen as threatened by linguistically and culturally different groups. Policy, then, should see immigration as de-stabilizing to social cohesion while 'integration' should be seen as stabilizing.

## 2.7 Education

The fifth factor that guides data collection and analysis is 'education', one of the most important of the six factors since the role of education is central to the research question. For purposes of this research, 'education' is defined in broad terms, not

necessarily referring to formal classroom structures. In fact, as is seen in Chapter Four, the policy and interview analysis highlight various ‘informal’ ways in which norms and values are to be taught to adult newcomers.

### **2.7.1 Education and autonomy**

As was mentioned in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2, there is an implicit assumption in integration policy that immigrants from non-western backgrounds, especially those of the Muslim faith, do not share the norms and values of the dominant society; however, a sharing of norms and values is seen as a mainstay of social cohesion.<sup>59</sup> One reason immigrants from non-western backgrounds are presumed to hold values different from those of a western democratic society is addressed by Mendus who points out that western education encourages ‘individual autonomy’, educating ourselves to ‘value our own desires, as opposed to those of our parents, family, and colleagues’ (1995: 193). As seen in the discussion in 2.4.4, immigrants settling in western Europe frequently come from societies where individualism or ‘autonomous actions’ are not valued as much as the ‘collective’. Thus, it is assumed that immigrants (non-western and/or Muslim) must be taught the value of ‘autonomy’ if they are to have a chance to ‘integrate’ successfully into a competitive market economy.

Yet the focus on ‘autonomy’ as a means to successful integration and ‘economic’ self-sufficiency (2.6.2) makes the individual responsible for things that may not be in his/her control. Brine states: ‘the possibility of employment or movement towards social inclusion is located with the *individual* person ...’ which means that the difficulties faced by the job seeker is ‘existing within and caused primarily by ‘deficits’ or ‘diseases’ in the individual him/herself (1998: 149). Coffield says this ‘appeal to individualism’ (1996: 85)<sup>60</sup> has some serious faults:

When the multitude of reasons for unemployment in Europe is considered – the relocation of industry to developing countries, automation and changes

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<sup>59</sup> See discussion on social cohesion and norms and values (2.6.1).

<sup>60</sup> Coffield is discussing EU and British educational and training policies on life-long learning.

in production, international competition, lack of investment, high interest rates, corporate *downsizing*, etc. – it is perverse to single out one particular reason (a lack of skills on the part of individuals) to carry the total burden of explanation (ibid: 80)

Phalet & Örkény see that the focus on autonomy is not producing the hoped for results as evidenced by those who use their autonomous skills to attain higher education but still can't merge into the work force (2001: 242).<sup>61</sup>

### **2.7.2 Education – autonomy and norms and values**

Besides the 'perversity' as Coffield says, of burdening the individual for complex structural problems in the economy, educational principles steeped in the 'morality of competitive individualism' impact society in a negative way, making it 'more unequal, undemocratic and divided' ... obscuring the 'social and moral purposes of education', eroding 'any kind of discourse of civic virtue or social ethics' (1996: 86).

This critique of 'individualism' is of special concern since one of the goals of integration policy is to educate newcomers into a shared value system (2.4.1). The impact of individualistic educational principles might function to erode that goal.

Coffield voiced criticism directed at EU and British educational policies on life-long learning, but which can be applied broadly in questioning how 'individualism' fits into any learning theory other than the enunciated one of: 'Learning is individual...the experience is uniquely personal...' (ibid: 83). Coffield is adamant that 'a theory of learning' will be required that 'does not take the individual as the sole unit of analysis and which goes well beyond construing learning as a simple matter of self-direction or of transmission and assimilation' (ibid: 85).

Delors et al are also cautious about the focus of western education on the 'individual', understanding that in the extreme, 'individualism' can damage the cohesiveness of

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<sup>61</sup> Brown et al state that education is seen as the key to economic productivity with the emphasis on knowledge and skills, yet the economy now wants 'interpersonal' skills which formal education systems are not addressing (1997: 10-11) while Levin and Kelley argue that education is just one factor which cannot guarantee opportunities (1997).

society (1996: 56), exactly the opposite of what integration policy intends (2.6.1). Noting this failure of policy to produce desired effects, Driessen, speaking in a general sense about policies relating to minority affairs, concludes that 'Roughly speaking, hardly any aspect of the policy pursued (in the past) has led to the effects anticipated by the government' (2000: 67).<sup>62</sup>

In response to this perceived failure, a 'radical' new approach is being tried by the Dutch government: 'decentralization, deregulation and increased autonomy'.<sup>63</sup> Local governments are being told by the central government to do whatever is necessary to get the job done regarding integration and education, yet the literature is not clear on how this process is to be accomplished with regards to the teaching of 'norms and values' to adult newcomers. In fact, the literature analysis shows that research in this area is lacking, pretty much non-existent, not surprising given that the focus on the teaching of norms and values to adult newcomers, throughout the EU, specifically in the Netherlands, is a recent one in integration policy.

The literature does reveal, however, that the transfer of norms and values is 'part of education's primary task' (de Beer, 2004: 83) and is most dependent on 'imitation' of 'good and bad examples' (ibid: 82). In this statement, 'imitation' is recognized as a means of teaching and learning, even when the behaviour to imitate includes 'bad examples'. This is the clearest statement revealed in the literature regarding education's role ('education' defined in an informal, broad sense) in teaching norms and values to newcomers.

Kamali sees this process as one where the 'mono-culturally' dominant group is instructed, in the vague rhetoric of integration policy, 'to help immigrants become integrated' since integration is supposedly a two-way street. 'Paradoxically', these same mono-culture groups 'construct obstacles' to the integration of immigrants

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<sup>62</sup> However, Vermeulen & Slijper argue that policy should not be considered 'failed' just because it must be 'adjusted' (2000: 228).

<sup>63</sup> Here, 'autonomy' refers to decision-making responsibility, mainly on the part of local governments.

(Kamali, 2000: 179). Does this ‘obstruction’ incorporate ‘bad examples of behaviour’ that adult newcomers may learn through imitation, thus incorporating norms and values which are different, or in opposition to those cherished core values Dutch society wants newcomers to learn? Again, when ‘the emphasis on the obligations of migrants’ obscures ‘the duties of host communities to welcome newcomers...as countries compete in a ‘Dutch auction’ to be tough on newcomers’ (Foreign Policy Centre: 2001), the same question arises. Are the norms and values revealed by the actions of Dutch society ones that newcomers should imitate? Are these the ‘bad examples’ which stand in opposition to those cherished core Dutch values?

The questions that the literature highlights but does not answer relates to the learning process and the integration exam.<sup>64</sup> Learning answers in a rote and mechanized manner in order to pass an exam is substantially different from ‘internalizing’ knowledge, for example, internalizing a country’s norms and values, a process of ‘giving and incorporation of meaning’ (Wardekker and Miedema, 1997: 58). How does policy address the learning process in which an individual ‘does not remain passive’, but where ‘qualitative changes in an already existing repertoire’ are asked for (Wardekker and Miedema, *ibid*), where learners ‘internalize knowledge’, (in this case knowledge of Dutch norms and values), in order to find meaning and to gain insight (Dalin and Rust, 1996: 81)?

## **2.8 Conclusion**

**2.7** through **2.7.2** analyzed the role of education in relation to the teaching of norms and values. Although such ‘guiding social principles’ as norms and values are sometimes referred to are ‘vague’, they are seen as fundamental to a cohesive society (**2.7**). Immigrants, especially non-western and Muslim, are seen as not sharing certain western democratic norms and values, such as ‘autonomy’ (**2.4.4**) and ‘individualism’ (**2.7.1**). Stressing ‘individualism’ in integration policy puts the blame on the victim

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<sup>64</sup> See Appendix VI for information about the two types of integration exams, one administered in the country of origin before permission is granted to come to Holland, and a second exam, administered after a period of study in Holland.

when structural inefficiencies may be at fault, while acquiring ‘autonomous skills’ does not guarantee acceptance by the larger society (2.7.1). Education steeped in ‘individualistic’ principles may do more harm than good with regards to teaching ‘civic virtues and social ethics’, and has produced no learning theory. Learning through ‘imitation’ is promoted as the best method to learn norms and values but leaves open the question about learning ‘bad behaviour’ which may be contrary to what Dutch integration policy intends (2.7.2).

### **2.8.1 Chapter Summary**

*Chapter Two-Literature Review* analyzed relevant literature in the field of policy and integration. The chapter was divided into five sections: policy (2.2); integration (2.3); norms and values (2.4); the city as site of research (2.5); social cohesion (2.6); education (2.7).

The analysis showed that policy is broadly defined to include written documents, actions and deeds, and also includes the study of power in society, those who possess it and those who don’t (2.2). The literature analysis supported the choice of data for this thesis with regards to policy.

The analysis showed that defining ‘integration’ is difficult; that the terms ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ are often used interchangeably and confusedly in policy; that multiculturalism has fallen into disfavour as a concept, but still influences policy today; that universalistic and particularistic views of society influence the debate on integration and integration policy (2.3)

The literature analysis showed that norms and values are not easily defined; that there is a presumption that immigrants who are non-western and Muslim do not share the same basic values of a liberal democratic society; that accepting values such as autonomy and toleration are deemed essential for successful integration to occur; that

Islam presents a particular challenge with regards to norms and values and integration (2.4).

The literature analysis confirmed that the site of research on a local level is widely accepted since it is the local where the process of integration takes place (2.5).

The literature analysis showed that many people link increased immigration with a decline in social cohesion, even though 'social cohesion' is difficult to define. To stem this decline, there is an emphasis in policy on integrating adult newcomers into the social-economic, political, and cultural domains. Globalization is experienced by many as a threat to social cohesion because of the economic and technological changes it brings, while 'immigration' and those who are perceived as not 'integrated' into society are seen as a threat to the nation-state, thus the emphasis on 'integration' in policy (2.6).

The literature analysis revealed that the present focus on 'individualisation' in educational policy may have unintended results: a focus on individualisation often results in blaming the victim for what may be structural societal problems. Neither does adhering to the value of individualisation guarantee status for the newcomer as an integrated individual. Finally, the literature on integration revealed that education has a role to play in teaching norms and values but 'education' is not defined, nor is a learning theory presented other than the learning of norms and values through the process of 'imitation' (2.7).

The completion of *Chapter Two-Literature Analysis* readies the thesis for *Chapter Three-Methodology* which describes the methodologies used to collect data for this research.



## **3 Methodology**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This thesis investigated the integration settlement policies in the Netherlands. Part of the intent of these policies is to help adult newcomers integrate into society by teaching Dutch norms and values. This thesis examines how education plays a role in facilitating that goal.

Chapter One introduced the research question and research issues. It explained the justification for the research, gave definitions of important terms, presented an overview of the methodology, made clear the thesis outline, and presented the research limitations.

Chapter Two presented an analysis of literature relevant to the research question: integration settlement policy; integration (assimilation and other approaches); social cohesion (including issues on globalization, nation-state); the 'city' as site of research; norms and values (toleration; autonomy); and education.

Chapter Three describes the methodologies I used to collect data for this research. This includes the reasons why these methodologies were chosen; what subject matter was analyzed; what instruments were used in the process; what measures were taken to reduce bias and to enhance credibility, transferability and dependability. This chapter also includes sections on the how the interview and document analysis were carried out, what some of the limitations faced were, and how ethical issues were handled.

### **3.2 Justification of methodology**

This section discusses how a researcher's view of the world influences not only the question a researcher attempts to answer, but also influences the methods chosen to collect and analyze the data (Ozga, 2000: 90; Mertens, 1998: 161). Certain personal

views, along with local and European events, have played a part in influencing my choice of methodology. Noting a lack of previous research on this topic has also influenced my choice. Additionally, the choice of the qualitative method and the grounded theory strategy rests on certain paradigms or views of the world which are influential in my choice of research topic, and the methods chosen to collect and analyze the data. These next sections attempt to explain these choices and consequently, justify the research methodology.

### **3.2.1 Personal experience**

The choice of my research question has to do with various personal factors. As a professional educator, I have been involved for many years in working with refugees/immigrants in the resettlement process: as a consultant to US Education Departments settling refugees; as a teacher and teacher-trainer in schools in the US and overseas; as a coordinator in a refugee camp in Indonesia. Additionally, my own itinerant life-style has placed me for long periods of time in many different countries, among different cultures and different languages. Together, these experiences have kindled in me an interest in integration, education and newcomers which most certainly influenced my choice of research question and methods.

### **3.2.2 Local/European Interest**

As circumstances evolved, while living in the Netherlands these past years, the three fields listed above, integration, education and newcomers, surfaced as major concerns, especially in the city of Rotterdam where I live. The immigrant population in the city is nearly 50% of the total. As was explained in 1.3, several events have pushed the 'immigration/integration' issue to the top of the agenda for the government and the public alike, most recently the murder of a Dutch film director by a young Dutch-Somali immigrant. The Netherlands, however, is not so different from other European countries in its focus on these issues.

Research on the thesis topic (3.1) therefore, had a local but also a possible European-wide interest, the outcomes of the research aiding other researchers interested in the issue of adult newcomers, integration, and the role of education in teaching norms and values. The countries studied and the groups of newcomers would be different, but the problems faced would, in many ways, be similar.

### **3.2.3 Lack of previous research**

After determining the research question, it was important to examine what research had already been conducted in this area. The teaching of norms and values in a general sense is a widely researched area. In a specific sense, however, the field is not well-researched. My context was defined as that of 'adult newcomers' to the Netherlands, specifically to Rotterdam. Although my research was restricted by my lack of knowledge of the Dutch language (1.7), I was able to ascertain through preliminary interviews and document searches that little research existed on this particular issue. I understood, however, that the topic was of growing interest as new integration policies were being implemented which mandated the teaching of Dutch norms and values. Particular elements of the research question are widely researched, for example, research dealing with 'integration' - what it means and how it is measured. However, to my knowledge, research into how education plays a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of norms and values in the Dutch context had not been carried out in any depth, and therefore the question was justified for this research.

### **3.2.4 Research and the Qualitative/Hermeneutic Method**

'The key words are complexity, contextual, exploration, discovery, and inductive logic', Mertens states in describing the qualitative method (1998: 160).

Given my personal experience, the national and European wide interest in the present research question, and the lack of research existing on this topic, the next step was to choose a research method and decide on certain data collecting techniques. It was clear that the research question was an 'emerging' one which meant that the focus of the research would be on 'process' not a completed 'something'. The integration settlement policies are presently being designed and implemented, with all the tweaking and refining that is a normal part of that process. My goal was to understand what the integration settlement policies, in their unfinished form, intended, regarding the role of education in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values. This meant 'reading and interpreting' written texts, but it also meant asking policy makers, politicians and others influential in the policy process to give their interpretation of what the policies intended. Both these processes fell into the category of 'interpretive' and 'interactive', referred to as a form of '*empathy*' in which the researcher 'recreates' 'the mental atmosphere, the thoughts and feelings and motivations of the objects of his study' (von Wright, 1993: 11).

The interpretive aspect of the research and its interactive nature were two of the main reasons why I chose the qualitative approach to data collection as the one best suited for the study. Hermeneutic methods support a 'nonmathematical process of interpretation' (Strauss and Corbin, 1996: 11), a process which validates the point of view of the participants, and seeks to understand their personal interpretation of experience. Such methods support a 'philosophical assumption about reality, knowledge and values' (Goetz and Lecompte, 1984: 53) which states that individuals and/or groups construct their own world view, a 'subjective' view that is valid and shared with others in a social group. Such methods also acknowledge that the researcher plays a role in the outcome of research which is 'a product of the values of researchers and cannot be independent of them' (Mertens, 1998: 11). Hermeneutic methods were also conducive to research conducted in naturalistic settings, environments deemed comfortable and familiar to the participants, such as a home or office or a coffee shop, and this approach is similarly conducive to research in which personal contact with participants is considered an essential means of obtaining data, such as that collected from interviews. Another important reason for the choice of

hermeneutic methods was that they are the most commonly used in research where the focus is to understand people, and the social and cultural contexts in which they live (von Wright, 1993; Lyon in Denzin and Lincoln, 2001: 391). Certainly, by this standard, the choice of hermeneutic methods for this thesis is justified since 'integration', 'education' and 'norms/values' are unquestionably issues which involve 'people' and the 'social and cultural contexts in which they live'. These are complex issues to which hermeneutic methods lend themselves.

The choice of the hermeneutic methods also illuminates my own mixed interpretive/constructivist – emancipatory (critical theory) assumptions which underpin this research, a paradigm in which 'multiple realities exist' shaped by social and 'other' realities (Mertens, 1998: 8) which are 'time and context dependent' (ibid: 161). The assumptions supporting these paradigms are what I felt best fit with the focus and goal of the research, and additionally, best fit the methodologies used. Not that these are the only methods that work; certainly, as the integration policies become more established, quantitative methods may well be suited to collecting data on this particular question, methods supporting more experimental, positivist paradigms. But this present thesis collected and analyzed data emerging from participant interviews which needed grounding in a world view that accepts that various subjective realities exist, and that the researcher can access those realities, since one of the characteristics of a social group is a 'shared world which its members accept' (Byram, 1997: 17). As well, this thesis analyzed various discourses emerging from the analysis of integration policy documents, a process of discovery and interpretation as to what message(s) the documents convey (Ozga, 2000). Both data sources yielded tentative results, a consequence that calls for grounding in a paradigm where knowledge is recognized as 'time and context' dependent.

### **3.2.5 Research and Grounded Theory**

The research question for this thesis did not involve the development of a hypothesis to be proved or disproved. Instead, theories as to how education plays a role

‘emerged’ through a process of collecting data, and then using ‘theoretical coding procedures’ to identify ‘emergent categories’ (Mertens, 1998: 50). This analysis strategy, known as *grounded theory*, (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was the method of choice for this thesis since, as was previously discussed regarding the qualitative approach (3.2.4), the strategy fits both the focus and goal of the research. Many of the same factors that describe the hermeneutic methods apply to grounded theory as well.

Grounded theory ‘consists of flexible strategies’ (Charmaz, 2002, 675-6). It works well with research that involves process, change and development, so that statements reflecting movement, ‘as the study progressed, it became evident that...’ can be used. Grounded theory is contextual, giving my research a ‘location’ within the ‘personal biographies’ of my participants and their ‘social environments’ (Huberman and Miles, 2002: 359), and defined by their personal and profession roles which for most included the city of Rotterdam. Another major reason for the choice of grounded theory was that it did not reject complexity, data that can be ‘ambiguous and sometimes downright contradictory’ (ibid: 394) but instead encouraged the researcher to ‘live as long as possible’ with the ambiguities (ibid: 394). Grounded theory allows for naturalistic rather than experimental observation; describing and interpreting rather than manipulating variables and searching for cause and effect; aligning itself with the interpretive rather than the positivist paradigm. All of these strategies support a world view that sees knowledge and power as socially constructed.

What distinguishes grounded theory from other strategies is the process whereby theory emerges out of the data and ‘not prior to data collection’ (Mertens, 1998: 171-2). This means that the theories are those of the informants – not developed by the researcher. In the case of this thesis, theories on ‘how education plays a role’ were developed through data collected by interviewing participants and analyzing integration policy. The process of collecting data (interviews and documents) was not then followed by a process of thinking about the data. Rather, there was a constant reference back and forth between the data as they were collected, and the analysis of that information, a process of ‘iteration’ (Huberman and Miles, 2002: 396). This process revealed information which, as more data were obtained, developed into

larger and more frequently appearing concepts (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The emergence of these concepts, in turn, influenced me to be more selective and structured in my choices of interviewees, and more focused in my policy analysis, although I understood that, at any time, if data revealed contrary or exceptional information, it was to be incorporated, not ignored. ‘Grounded theorists develop categories from their focused codes’, using a procedure called ‘progressive focusing’, in which ‘they construct entire analytic frameworks by developing and integrating the categories’ (Charmz, 2002: 687).

### **3.3 Judging the research**

In sections 3.2 through 3.2.5, justification for the use of the hermeneutic methods and grounded theory strategy was made explicit, including how my personal background and experience influenced my choices. I explained how local events in the Netherlands and in the wider European context also influenced my choice of topic and methods. The present section examines specific techniques chosen for the collection of data, beginning with an explanation of the type of interview used and why, followed by explanations of the steps taken to ensure that bias was reduced and/or acknowledged. Finally, I discuss certain evaluation criteria used in judging research with qualitative data which includes credibility, transferability, and dependability.

#### **3.3.1 The semi-structured interview and document analysis**

Two main methods were used to gather data as to how education plays a role in integrating adult newcomers through the teaching of Dutch norms and values: the analysis of integration policy documents, and the semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview was chosen since it was a good match for grounded theory (Charmaz, 2002: 676). That is because such an interview is exploratory in nature, allowing for flexibility in the range and sequence of questioning, ‘Ideas and issues emerge during the interview, and the interviewer can then immediately pursue these

leads' (ibid: 676). The interview is also subjective in its intent, the purpose to gain insight into the interviewee's 'world' (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002: 83; Denzin and Lincoln, 2001: 42), and interpretive, 'with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena' (Kvale, 1996: 5).

Semi-structured interviews are built around a list of topics which allows the interviewee to talk about what is of central importance to him/her (Bell, 1996; Hammersley, 1998). In contrast, questionnaires and surveys restrict the information that can be elicited. The semi-structured interview is useful since the interviewee feels a sense of control; the interviewer has flexibility; and the interview 'allows privileged access to other people's lives' (Nunan, 1992: 150).

Many of the same ideas expressed about the semi-structured interview can be said about document analysis conducted within the context of grounded theory. The process is exploratory in nature allowing ideas and issues to emerge. The purpose of the analysis is to gain insight into the world of 'policy'. A more complete discussion about this process of document analysis is in **3.4.2**.

### **3.3.2 Bias**

However, it is this interpretive nature of the interview and policy analysis using grounded theory that is criticized by those who are of a more positivist persuasion, believing that such openness to meaning can lead to 'bias' on the part of the researcher, interpreting results 'that are in line with their prejudgments and political or practical commitments' (Hammersley and Gomm, 1997: paragraph #1.7).

However, Gubrium and Holstein ask how can bias exist if 'knowledge' is not understood to be 'existing in some pure form' (2002: 15)? Aside from a discussion of how a researcher's philosophical stance as to the nature of knowledge influences bias, it can be argued more practically that inherent in grounded theory methods is a constant back and forth referencing and re-checking of data and analysis, the 'iterative' process discussed in **3.2.5**, which works to produce a 'check' on researcher



bias. Whatever checks and balances, however, Hammersley and Gomm argue that, 'all research necessarily relies on presuppositions, none of which can be established as valid beyond all possible doubt' (1997: paragraph # 4.10). Adopting a stance of 'reflexivity' means that researchers reflect upon and acknowledge their own 'standpoint' in relation to the research (Willig, 2001: 7). That means acknowledging reliance on certain presuppositions, and in using grounded theory strategies, acknowledging his/her subjective involvement with the research such that it influences choice of research questions, methods and even outcome. I attempted this 'reflexivity' in sections (3.2.1), (3.2.4) and (3.2.5).

Another way to reflect on bias<sup>65</sup> is to ask how a different paradigm or approach might have resulted in the choice of different methods, thus altering outcomes (Willig, 2001:10). I tried also to answer that question in 3.2.4 and 3.2.5, stating that the present design fits the focus and goal of my research. But practical reasons too played a part in the choice of methods (see Mertens, 1998: 163). 'Case studies' or 'action research' projects focused on the topic of 'adult newcomers' were not feasible since integration settlement policies were not fully designed and implemented at the time of the researching and writing of this thesis. Certainly, future research will employ different paradigms and strategies when the policies are more thoroughly implemented, and thereby uncover new findings.

### **3.3.3 Bias and the interview**

Avoiding bias in a semi-structured interview situation is not easily achieved. Certain techniques suggest standardizing the way the interviewer presents herself, the way the questions are asked and probed (have no opinions), and the way the interviewer establishes rapport (Mertens, 1998: 138). However, arguments abound as to the rationale behind such standardized behavior, Oakley even arguing that such 'standardized' behaviours assume 'a predominately masculine model of sociology

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<sup>65</sup> Hammersley and Gomm (1997) 'Bias in Social Research', contend that bias is not easy to define. They explore several meanings of bias.

and society' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2001: 11) which 'sabotage' the attempt to research them (the interviewees) (ibid: 30).

The interviews I conducted fell somewhere between the extremes of 'standardized behavior', and what might be considered too much rapport. I handled the interviews as professionally as possible but with an openness and friendliness meant to encourage dialogue and put the interviewee into a relaxed mood. I tried to communicate openness to whatever position a participant took on an issue. This was not difficult for me as I truly was interested to hear each person's opinion. I understood the interview to have been 'successful' when the majority of interviewees were not constantly checking their watches, and when I mentioned that the time was nearly up, they often said it was not a great concern if we went beyond the allotted time. However, out of courtesy to my participants, and as a nod to 'standardization', I generally ended the interview on time. Nor were the interview questions standardized.<sup>66</sup> Each participant was chosen because of a special expertise or point of view regarding the integration policies, and I made sure that my understanding of their expertise was incorporated into the interview questions. I felt this was an important aspect of understanding their point of view. As much as possible, I tried to keep 'bias' to a minimum by remaining open to the interviewees' opinions and not interjecting my own. But as noted in 3.3.2, my own 'presuppositions' and 'world view' could not be eliminated. They were a factor in the interview process, and as such, are acknowledged as much as possible.

#### **3.3.4 Dependability**

In 3.3.3, the issue of bias was discussed as it relates to evaluating the quality of qualitative research. In the next sections, three more criteria for judging the quality of research are discussed. The first criterion is 'dependability'. This criterion in 'quantitative' research refers to 'reliability' which means 'stability over time'. In

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<sup>66</sup> See interview schedules Appendix II. See sample interview questions Appendix IV, identified according to the six guiding factors discussed in 1.2 and 1.3 and Literature Analysis-Chapter Two.

‘qualitative’ research, however, it is ‘change’ rather than stability that characterizes the research (Mertens, 1998: 184). ‘Dependability’ then refers to ‘change’ but ‘change that can be ‘tracked and publicly inspected’ (ibid: 184). In my research, ‘change’ is an ever-present factor. This relates to the fact that in the Netherlands and in Rotterdam, ‘integration’ is a current topic of national interest. Major and minor events occur almost daily which affect the debate on integration, events which focus and then re-focus the topic in the public’s mind. Additionally, as details of the integration settlement policies emerge, they are debated and revised, and dates for implementation extended.

This has made my research one of dealing with constant change; however, this change is documented and accessible to those interested in tracing it.<sup>67</sup>

### **3.3.5 Credibility**

What in ‘quantitative’ research is referred to as ‘internal validity’ is, in qualitative research referred to as ‘credibility’. This second of the three criteria presented here refers to a ‘correspondence between the way the respondents actually perceive social constructs and the way the researcher portrays their viewpoints’ (Mertens, 1998: 180-81). Credibility was demonstrated in this research through a number of strategies, including first, prolonged engagement with one’s material; second, progressive subjectivity; and third, triangulation (ibid: 181-84). ‘Prolonged engagement’ is not a fixed time concept, but refers to that time when a researcher feels ‘the themes and examples are repeating instead of extending’ (ibid: 181). The research for this thesis began in January, 2003, with the literature and policy document analysis. This analysis continued until August, 2005. The interviews began in June, 2004, with the final interview in August 25, 2005. The research period, over two and a half years, ended when it became clear that no new ideas were being heard or generated.

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<sup>67</sup> All transcripts are available for review. In *Chapter Four-Part One*, the interviews are analyzed. All quotes used in this chapter are traceable back to the transcripts. See Appendix VIII for sample interview transcript.

‘Progressive subjectivity’ is the second way that credibility is demonstrated. ‘Progressive subjectivity’ refers to the fact that a researcher ‘monitors’ his/her own ideas as they develop, in order to check for bias (Mertens, 1998: 182). I checked for ‘progressive subjectivity’ first, by trying to remain alert to them. Second, by referring chapters to my advisors as they were written, knowing their feedback would alert me to bias. And third, by engaging in discussions on ‘integration of newcomers’ with all who would partake - good friends, family and colleagues would not hesitate to point out what they saw as my ‘emerging’ bias.

Triangulation is the third way that credibility is demonstrated. Triangulation involves using various methods to collect data in order to better understand what is going on (Willig, 2001: 81). The various methods used for the present research were interviews, document analysis, and analysis of pertinent literature. In such a way, for example, data from the interviews were compared and/or contrasted with data from the policy documents analysis. In addition, most of the interviewees had written articles or books, or had been interviewed about their views on integration policy for TV, radio or major newspapers. These written and/or oral documents were also used to check how the opinions expressed during the interview differed or were similar to those expressed for the media.

### **3.3.6 Transferability/generalisability**

The third criterion for judging the quality of research is what in quantitative research is known as ‘external validity’ while in qualitative research, it is known as ‘transferability’. This criterion is one in which the researcher accurately describes the ‘time, place, context and culture’ (Mertens, 1998: 183) of the research in order that readers can see if the study ‘has applicability beyond the specific context’ (Willig, 2001: 143), a factor that may encourage follow-up studies. Section 3.4.1 details the contextual features of the interviews, time, place, numbers, etc., while 3.4.2 details the document analysis, in order to satisfy this criterion of transferability.

Whether or not this research is ‘generalisable’, meaning that it is it useful to understand similar situations or people, rather than being representative of the target population<sup>68</sup> is not clear. As was argued in 1.7, research originating ‘outside’ the Netherlands appears limited in its applicability ‘inside’ the Netherlands; thus, the opposite might be true, that what originates inside the Netherlands has limited applicability outside. ‘At the local level, studies of migrant policy in specific cities do not usually theorize beyond the bounds of that city’ (Alexander, 2001: 4). However, elements of this present research may apply elsewhere first because the topic is of current interest (1.3). Additionally, although Rotterdam differs in size and the ethnic makeup of its immigrant population, the similarities and differences in the problems being experienced and the solutions undertaken may make for interesting comparative research,<sup>69</sup> since as Joppke reminds, there is nothing particularly ‘Dutch’ about most of the core values which are mark all liberal societies (2003: 12).

### **3.4 Administration of Procedures – Interview and document analysis**

#### **3.4.1 Interview**

What follows is a description of the interviews which should help ascertain the transferability of the research, detailing the numbers interviewed, how and why participants were chosen, and how they were approached. Eleven participants were approached for this study<sup>70</sup>. They included one male politician who held a top government position in the city of Rotterdam; two policy planners, both males, one who worked for the City of Rotterdam, one who worked in the Hague; four university professors, one male based at Erasmus University in Rotterdam, one retired male professor from Erasmus University, one female professor from the University of Leiden, and one male professor from the University of Amsterdam, all of whom have acted, at some point in their professional careers, as ‘policy advisors’ to the government; two PhD students specializing in research on integration, one male

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<sup>68</sup> Definition from QDA Durham University website <<http://onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/>>

<sup>69</sup> Although theorizing beyond a specific city is difficult, Rotterdam is frequently the focus of comparison in international conferences, as noted in 1.3.

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix II for time/dates of interviews.

specializing on Rotterdam and Amsterdam, one female concentrating on Holland;<sup>71</sup> finally, two female policy planners from the Ministry of Justice in The Hague working on 'norms and values' issues. Each interviewee was approached because of their specific knowledge regarding the issue of integration settlement policy.

'Snowball sampling' was used to identify participants. 'Snowball sampling' is described as 'picking some subjects who feature the necessary characteristics, and through their recommendations, finding other subjects with the same characteristics' (Gobo in Seale et al., 2004: 449). Along with 'snowball sampling', I used 'maximum-variation sampling' since, even though all participants were influential in the forming of integration policy, a variety of positions were represented (ibid: 262), from the role of politician, to policy planner, to policy researcher, to research-student (Mertens, 1998: 262). Each recommendation I received from participants as to whom might be a good candidate for an interview was followed up, and in each case, the request for an interview was positive, except for one. He was the leader of a local Muslim organization who cited his lack of good English skills as the reason for his decline, but he suggested someone else who did accept.

The initial contact was made by formal e-mail, specifying the name of the person who had suggested the contact. Sample questions, Participant Information Sheets and Consent Forms<sup>72</sup> were then sent out to interviewees after they agreed to a meeting. Meeting places and times were suggested by the participant, most of which were held in the participants' offices, and in one case, in the retired professor's apartment. The interviews lasted one hour, give or take a few minutes.

Interviews were tape-recorded. This was done for a variety of reasons. I was free to listen and respond without having to think about taking notes. Accuracy in transcribing was increased as was listening to and looking at the participant which

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<sup>71</sup> The use of PhD students as participants was justified due to the fact that so little research exists on the topic of the new integration policies, making their research on the new integration policy focused on the Netherlands and on Rotterdam of great value

<sup>72</sup> See Appendix III for sample forms.

made eye contact much easier. This helped develop a good rapport with my participants. Interviews were tape-recorded only after permission was given by the participant, which was granted in all cases. Only four interviews were not recorded. Notes were taken instead, even though permission for recording had been granted. This included both participants who worked for the Ministry of Justice in The Hague, whose expertise was in the area of developing and implementing policy on norms and values. The reason for note-taking instead of tape-recording had to do with the nature of the interviews, which consisted of examining charts and plans and surveys, moving from office to office, which made recording awkward. The other two participants who were not recorded were the two PhD students. One interview consisted of e-mail correspondence, and the other was due to the nature of the interview, which was conducted in front of his computer screen, examining details of his research. All interviews were conducted in English, although English was not the first language of any of the participants. However, all spoke near fluent English.

It was explained to the participants who were being tape recorded that they could turn off the recorder at any time, an action which was never requested. It was also explained to the interviewees that they could review the transcript in order to clear up any misunderstandings or clarify ideas. None of the interviewees asked for this, but all agreed to follow up by e-mail if I had doubts or questions about any of the material. I think the participants did not request to see the transcripts because the essence of what they said or meant could be verified from other sources (3.3.5 Triangulation) and also because of their very busy schedules. Additionally, it was explained to the interviewees that after the transcriptions were made and approved, all tapes would be destroyed. Anonymity was offered.

Neutral remarks were made at the beginning of the interview, such as introducing myself and making sure the interviewee understood the focus of my research, even though this had been explained in the initial contact letters. I also began with neutral questions, asking the participant to explain his/her present work regarding integration

policy. Deviations from the initially prepared questions<sup>73</sup> were not a concern to me. This was because the point of the semi-structured interview is to give the interviewee the role of talking about what is of concern to him/her, within the limits of the topic of integration policy, which is quite broad, and to give me, the interviewer, the role of following up on his/her thoughts (Seale et al, 2004: 18). Nor was it necessary to ask the same questions in the same way in each interview; it was more important to gather ‘contrasting’ or ‘complementary’ ideas on the same broad theme (ibid: 18).

I transcribed the interviews within a few days of the interview itself so that the experience was fresh in my mind. I stayed as true to the original recording as possible, leaving in grammatical mistakes: sentence fragments, run-on sentences and incorrect grammar (this area is a bit accentuated since all my participants speak English as a second or third language). I used dashes to reflect pauses where meaningful. The transcription also reflects interruptions with brackets, but this happened only once when the participant was interrupted by a phone call. I placed question marks before and after words that were garbled and uncertain.

All participants were told that the transcript was available for review. None of the participants indicated a desire to do such a review and for my sake, I was glad since several of the participants used strong language and made challenging statements which added color and interest to the interview. If they had decided to review the transcript, perhaps they would have had second thoughts about their language, and insisted on ‘cleaning it up’ which would have diminished some of the uniqueness of the interview.

### **3.4.2 Administration of Procedures – Document Analysis**

Having discussed the administration procedures of the interview, I now turn to the document analysis procedures. *Chapter Two-Literature Analysis (2.1.1)* analyzes

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<sup>73</sup> See Appendix IV for sample question sheet identified according to the six guiding factors discussed in **1.2** and **1.3** and Literature Analysis-Chapter Two.



what the literature says about the meaning of 'policy', summarized as being 'text' and 'words', but also 'actions' and 'deeds' (Ozga, 2000; Ball, 1994). Policy is a 'product' but also a 'process', the definition so broad that the perspective of the researcher matters (Ozga, 2000:1). Ball states that policy is also 'discourse' which examines the way 'power' and 'voice' are authenticated, sustained or negated in policy (Ball, 1994). This broad view of policy allowed a wide spectrum of choices for analysis, which for this thesis included printed government documents, published academic research, local news items; the words and actions of the policy planners, academics, politicians and students I interviewed and the 'discourses' and 'processes' relating to integration policy.<sup>74</sup>

A grounded theory approach was then applied to these empirical products or processes. Grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss state, does not specify the data collection methods, but encourages 'imagination' and 'ingenuity' in extending choices of qualitative data (1967: 161). Thus, 'policy', broadly defined, is suitable data in grounded theory. A similar process occurred, as with the interviews, defined as 'snowball sampling' (3.4.1), wherein policy documents were recommended by the participants, and in several cases, sent directly to me via e-mail or post. In other cases, I followed up on citations to policy documents from readings or citations in the documents themselves. In this way, I was able to analyze a broad range of policy on integration.

As was previously discussed in 3.2.5, grounded theory procedures entail various operations, including reading and analyzing documents so that statements and observations can be 'coded'. In this way, I analyzed the various policy documents, which were then 'coded' with descriptive or explanatory topics. I did this using large sheets of paper in order to more easily manage the large amount of data, and as a way of 'ordering' the emerging 'themes' or 'concepts', both those that were related, and those that stood apart as 'different'. All these data, then, were integrated into larger

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<sup>74</sup> See *Chapter Four-Part One, Policy Analysis* for lists of documents used. Also see *Bibliography-National Policy* and *Bibliography-Local Policy* for list of documents.

categories, and finally into theories, procedures which involved a constant reference back and forth between the data and the analysis.

### **3.5 Limitations of the methodology**

Chapter One, Section (1.7) listed and discussed various limitations I faced while doing this research. Those limitations included the fact that conclusions reached were tentative due to the on-going design and implantation of the integration settlement policies; that I did not speak Dutch and therefore had to interview participants in English, a second or third language for most; and I had to hire a translator to help with the document analysis.

In this section, I add only one more limitation which has to do with the nature of research in the Netherlands. Cross et al (2000) note that there is a close connection in the Netherlands between ‘research’ into migration and ethnic relations, and the almost exclusive dependency of the researchers on government funding for research money. Research, Cross et al contend, is not ‘inspired’ by ‘academic curiosity’ but rather is driven by government programmes that have an agreed upon ‘internal’ definition of important terms. Cross et al add that even PhD students conduct research based on government contracts (ibid: 62-3). The importance of these relationships for my research is to recognize that the Dutch professors and PhD students whom I chose to interview may have this connection to the government by way of funding. This fact may or may not bias the research which they conduct, but it is a fact I kept in mind while analyzing the interviews and the research documents. This is not to say that the participants were not critical of government policy in their research or in the interviews, but only that close funding between researchers and the researched existed and needed to be noted.

### **3.6 Ethical Issues**

The last topic to be discussed in this chapter concerns the ethical considerations of this research, considerations which are 'integral' to planning and carrying through any research, following the principles of 'informed consent'. As was mentioned in 3.4, Participant Information Sheets (PIS) were sent to each participant before the interviews, informing the participants about the research project and what their expected participation was. Confidentiality was offered, as was anonymity. Participants were ensured of the right to withdraw from the research project at any time, as well as have the tape recorder turned off at any time during the interview sessions. Participants were also ensured they had the right to see a finished transcript from the interview in order to clarify what they said or intended (3.4.1). Additionally, as the researcher, my responsibility was to represent, to my best ability, what the interviewee said or meant, and in the case of policy analysis, what the policy documents intended. Although this refers to the credibility criterion as discussed in 3.3.5,<sup>75</sup> it is, to my mind, an ethical issue.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

In *Chapter Three-Methodology*, I described the justification for this research in terms of my own personal background, local and European interests, and the lack of previous research on this topic. I discussed why I chose to use the hermeneutic methods and a grounded theory strategy. I explained the care taken to ensure a minimum of bias, and a maximum of dependability, credibility and transferability. I explained the administration of procedures relating to the interview and to the document analysis. Finally, I included a section on the limitations faced, and the ethical issues considered. The next chapter, *Chapter Four-Analysis of Data*, will present and analyze the collected data.

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<sup>75</sup> The credibility criterion discussed the 'correspondence between the way the respondents actually perceive social construct and the way the researcher portrays their viewpoints' (Mertens, 1998:180-1).

## 4 Data Analysis

### 4.1 Introduction

*Chapter Three-Methodology* described the methods I used to collect data for the research question and explained the rationale and approach to data analysis. In this chapter, the results of the analysis are presented without further discussion of the process. The chapter is divided into two parts: *Part One-Analysis of Integration Policy* and *Part Two-Analysis of the Interviews*. The reason for the division into two parts is one of logistics, making it easier to handle the substantial amount of data. The reason for placing the policy analysis first is to allow access and insight into what the policy intends, thereby giving context and meaning to what the participants express in the interviews.

*Chapter Four-Part One* is the analysis of integration policy from two perspectives, a national level, and a local one, focused on the city of Rotterdam. *Part Two* builds on the analysis in *Part One*, examining the views of experts influential in the design and implementation of Dutch integration policy. Both *Part One* and *Part Two* examine the same topics, plus or minus a few – certain topics were mentioned in the policy analysis that were not found in the interviews and vice versa. Any importance attached to the appearance of a topic or non-appearance is noted and analyzed in *Chapter Five-Conclusions*.

The importance of the analysis of policy and interviews in Chapter Four is the contribution the analysis makes to the understanding of the research question: *how does education play a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values?* The conclusions drawn from the analysis of data in Chapter Four are presented in *Chapter Five-Conclusions*.

It seems pertinent to repeat that understanding education's role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values makes it an important objective to understand what Dutch norms and values are. As noted in

**2.4.1**, norms and values are often ‘mentioned in one and the same breath and have gradually merged to become almost the same thing’ (de Beer, 2004: 22). This thesis accepts the merged meaning of the two words and proceeds on that basis. Thus, in Part One and Part Two, what is determined to be a norm or value is not always widely recognized or accepted as such, but is an action or behavior that appears to be ‘valued’ by policy, by the participants, or in their view, by society.

*Part One* and *Part Two* use a similar system to identify policies and participants. Beside each quote in the analysis is a number referring to the policy or participant being quoted. This number is listed in the *Provenance* section at the beginning of the analysis for national policy (**4.2.1**), for local policy (**4.61**), and for the participants (**4.11.1**). In the case of the policies, the Provenance gives the title and a brief description of the policy so that it is clear why the policy was chosen. Similarly, at the beginning of *Part Two*, *Provenance* (**4.11.1**), numbers are listed alongside a brief description of the participant (without divulging the participant’s name or identity). As in *Part One*, these numbers appear beside the participant’s quoted material in the analysis itself in order to highlight who is being interviewed.

The organization of topics in *Part One* and *Part Two* are similar in order to make reference between the two parts easier. Thus, both sections begin with an analysis of the importance of norms and values, followed by a section that analyzes individual norms and values, and a final section that analyzes the relationship between norms and values, integration, and the role of education.

## 4.2 Part One

### Analysis of National Integration Policy

#### 4.2.1 National policy - Provenance

The following is a list of policies that are analyzed in *Part One-Analysis of National Integration Policy*. Full bibliographic information is presented in the bibliography.

- Policy 1 - *Balkenende Coalition Agreement Policy Statement* (2004) is an agreement reached between the various Dutch political parties on the main points of government policy for the next four years. Includes a section on immigration and integration. On an official Dutch government web-site. In English.
- Policy 2 - *Do unto others...* (2004) is an abridged version of WRR (The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy) report on 'Values, norms and the burden of behaviour'. In English. 104 pages.
- Policy 3 – *Declaration of The Hague on the Future of Refugee and Migration Policy* (2002) is a think-tank report by a group of 500 international experts on immigration and integration commissioned to 'think creatively' about the future of policy. In English.
- Policy 4 – *Dutch cabinet agrees to new integration act* (2005) is an explanation of the new integration act from the official Dutch government web-site. In English.
- Policy 5 – *Dutch Integration Policy Investigation, Dutch House of Representatives* (2004) is a 32 page report by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on integration policy with summary, conclusions and recommendations for the Dutch House of Representative on integration policy. In English.
- Policy 6 – *Normering inburgeringsexamen, advise over het niveau van het nieuwe inburgeringsexamen in Nederland* (2004) is an 80 page report by the commission advising the Dutch government on the new integration exam. In Dutch.
- Policy 7 – *Integration exam* (2004) includes information from the official Dutch government web-site. In English.
- Policy 8 – *Handbook on integration for policy-makers and practitioners on behalf of the European commission* (2004) is a first edition handbook on examples and practices of successful integration for use by policy makers. In English.

- Policy 9 – *The Netherlands as immigrant society* is a report by the WRR (The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy) which puts forward an approach to maximize integration into Dutch society (2001). In English (78 page hardcopy report) and in Dutch (264 page report) on official Dutch government website.
- Policy 10- *Values, norms and norm-transgressing behaviour*: summary (2003) is 7 page summary of a report on ‘what values bind our society’ by the WRR (Advisory Council on Government Policy) presented to the Dutch cabinet.

#### 4.2.2 Norms and values – importance of

This section begins with an analysis of the ‘importance’ that national integration policy places on norms and values. It is mentioned here again<sup>76</sup> that the term ‘policy’ is broadly interpreted: that which is designated as such by the government; government commissioned studies on policy as well as non-government commissioned studies; media commentary; interviews with government and other public officials.

The importance of norms and values for newcomers is stated in Policy #6...*To participate in our land, (we) must know the language, and ‘de normen naleven’* (live up to the values and norms) (page 8). Policy #7...it is important to *understand Dutch values and comply with Dutch norms* (page 1). Policy #2...*the Dutch at all socio-economic levels agree that the decline of values and norms is the most important issue today except for crime and health care* (page 9-10).

This importance is also reflected in national policy in the way the government promotes dialogue on the issue of norms and value. Policy #10...*The government and social institutions have the task to bring up different concepts of values, particularly those associated with cultural differences, for discussion on a wide scale. The discussions should counteract damaging and negative stereotypes...* (page 1). In pursuance of that objective, the government inaugurated an internet site called *Zestienmiljoenmensen*<sup>77</sup>, Sixteen Million People, (representing the population of the Netherlands). The purpose of the site is to conduct discussions/debates with the Dutch public about *waarden en normen central*, core Dutch values and norms.

Thus, national integration policy clearly states that Dutch norms and values are an important issue in the integration process.

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<sup>76</sup> See discussion on defining policy (2.1.1).

<sup>77</sup> <[Http://www.zestienmiljoenmensen.nl/index.jsp](http://www.zestienmiljoenmensen.nl/index.jsp)> is the website address. One of the participants in *Chapter Four-Part One* was in charge of this web site for the Ministry of Justice at the time of the interviews.



### 4.2.3 Norms and values - define

This section analyzes the way in which national policy defines Dutch norms and values. Generally, the definition is broad and vague, and refers to the ‘law’ and the constitution. Policy #8...*human rights standards and values such as equality, anti-discrimination, solidarity, openness, participation and tolerance* (page 8).

Policy #6...*individual autonomy, the right of the individual to make one’s own choice, the equality of man and woman, self-education, non-authoritarian education of children* (pages 34-5).

Policy #10...*the values of the democratic constitutional state...along with guiding values: belief in the future, safeguarding of personal freedom and autonomy, reason and fairness, universality, justice and equality.*<sup>78</sup>

Policy #7...*The Committee also considers the central values of the Dutch rule of law, as stated in Section 1 of the Dutch constitution, to be part of this knowledge.*

What national policy is doing here is defining Dutch norms and values by citing values found in the Dutch constitution, while referencing ‘human rights’, along with democratic and liberal values.

The ‘rule of law’ may be an attempt by policy to overcome the lack of concreteness inherent in referencing ‘constitutional norms and values’. Policy #5...*the values and standards as laid down in legislation are observed by everyone* (page 5). However, even this seemingly tangible reference to the ‘rule of law’ contains ambiguity, as seen further along when Policy #5 notes that there are many ‘rules’ which are not ‘written’ but must be observed. ...*apart from these values and standards laid down in legislation, societies also have ‘unwritten’ rules. They make it easier for people to co-exist, which is why newcomers should familiarize themselves with these rules* (page 5). Policy #6 agrees that unwritten or ‘social rules’ are important but are not easy to recognize...there are ‘social rules’ which can be *implicit or explicit* (34-35). Thus, Policy #2 acknowledges that...*values remain vague and general* (page 54).

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<sup>78</sup> Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race, or sex or on any other grounds whatsoever is not permitted (Article 1 and 6 of the Dutch constitution).

What national policy presents here is that Dutch norms and values include ‘rules’ which are implicitly known to certain segments of the population and which the newcomer is responsible to learn. The literature explains that being able to do so depends upon the ability to ‘fabricate’ a national culture which Parekh doesn’t believe exists (2000: 197), and/or on the ability to define ‘an integrated person’ when certain standards are achieved (Ang, 2003; Banton, 2001). Yet, since these standards and values remain ‘vague’, as Policy #2 acknowledges, achieving the status of an ‘integrated’ person must necessarily remain a ‘vague’ goal.

#### **4.2.4 Norms and values - integration**

4.2.2 and 4.2.3 established that national integration policy considers norms and values important in the integration process even when norms and values may be vague and known only implicitly to certain segments of society. In this section, ‘integration’ is analyzed in order to understand how the term is defined or interpreted in national policy.

An analysis of policy shows that ‘integration’ is understood in various ways. Policy #3...*developing equal opportunities for all while respecting the values of cultural, linguistic and national identities and meeting all the duties and obligations involved in membership of the host society* (section 14).

Policy #5...*A person or group is considered ‘integrated’ in society if their legal position is equal to that of native Dutch people; if they participate on equal terms in the socio-economic field; if they have command of the Dutch language and if they respect the prevailing standards, values and customs* (page 5).

Policy #6... ‘integrated’ means to be...*free and independent and (have an) equal position in society...have knowledge of norms and values; accept core values like freedom of speech, freedom of religion, equality of man and woman.*

In these definitions, national policy emphasizes ‘equality’, ‘respect’ and ‘knowledge of the prevailing norms and values’. Again, the importance of ‘unwritten’ rules

surfaced as an important aspect of being ‘integrated’. Policy #6...*For integration in the society and the well-functioning of the migrant, knowledge and living up to such unwritten rules, regulations and codes, is of the utmost importance...* (Appendix 4, page 2).

According to national policy, integration is understood to be the development of a deep connection to Dutch society in terms of *duties and obligations; participation; respect of values and customs; living up to the unwritten rules*. Policy #8 added that this deep connection is accomplished by the efforts of not only the newcomers, but also through the efforts of the Dutch. *Integration is a continuous, two-way process which is based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations both of immigrants and of the host society* (page 5).

### **4.3 Dutch norms and values**

The preceding sections analyzed national integration policy to determine the importance of Dutch norms and values (4.2.2), the way norms and values are defined (4.2.3), and how the process of ‘integration’ is viewed (4.2.4). This next section analyzes individual norms and values as implicitly or explicitly expressed in policy. It is pertinent to remember that the norms and values mentioned are sometimes clearly recognized as such by most Dutch people while at other times, they are not well-recognized, are perhaps, even arguably ‘not’ considered a norm or value. The following section analyzes contradictions or ironies a particular norm or value presents when it is realized (or not realized) in practice in Dutch society. However, any conclusions reached regarding these contradictions or ironies are discussed in *Chapter Five-Conclusions*. Additionally, the analysis does not pretend to present each and every norm or value present in policy nor a complete analysis of their definitions, but does strive to identify the dominant ideas and implicit theories.

One value that underpins the discussion of most other norms and values in this section, and is therefore mentioned here, is that of ‘toleration’ which is defined as

*accepting the views and behaviour patterns of others, even if they do not meet with one's approval* (Policy #2, page 73). It is defined as a society that has room for a plurality of *religious, cultural and ethnic diversity...which shows respect for differing points of view* (Policy #1). Dutch society defines itself in this way (see discussion 2.4.4), a fact that frames much of the present societal discussion on norms and values.

One other concept that frames the policy analysis on particular norms and values is the fact that the more 'vaguely' a norm or value is defined, the more society benefits, since as Policy #2 states...*the more abstract the values...the more agreement can be expected...*(page 19). It is differences in society...*different lifestyles, traditions and behaviour patterns of immigrants in general and ...issues involving the multicultural society in particular* (page 62) that force into the open various interpretations of norms and values, as society tries to concretize that which has previously been 'vague'.

The next section analyzes: separation of church and state/freedom of religion; freedom of speech; employment; the welfare state; self-sufficiency/autonomy/individualism; individualism/communalism; social cohesion; sanctions and enforcements; policy.

#### **4.3.1 Separation of church and state/freedom of religion**

'Separation of church and state' and 'freedom of religion' are present in the constitution (4.2.3) and therefore, recognized as core Dutch values. Their definition in a multicultural society, however, is not so easily ascertained. Policy #2 discussed an example which involved the issue of the Muslim headscarf. A Dutch court decided that a Muslim woman could not wear it in a court of law. For that woman, the scarf represented her right to religious freedom. The court, in contrast, saw... *that a religious symbol such as a headscarf did not belong in the judicial law enforcement systems because it brings into question the independence of the state...a violation of*

*separation of church and state* (page 68). In this case, the core Dutch value of separation of church and state won over the free expression of one's religion.

In Policy #2, this example portends a possible diminishing tolerance of religious freedom in Holland, one which is focused most strongly on Muslims. *The extent to which we give religious groups the freedom to practice their faith in their own ways has declined since 1985. This is especially true for the freedoms we grant Muslims, and to a similar but lesser extent, Catholics and Protestants as well. Tolerance of religious groups thus appears to have declined* (page 30).

What the above analysis shows is that 'separation of church and state', and 'freedom of religion' are core Dutch values and therefore, should be taught as such to newcomers. Yet defining what those core values mean is not easily accomplished since the definition changes according to the context in which it is being practiced. Additionally, as policy #2 pointed out above, there is an increasing 'intolerance' of certain religious groups in the Netherlands, a situation that may be altering long-standing interpretations of certain core values. Such change, if it is occurring, corroborates Wieviorka's view of culture as something not static but 'fluid' (1998: 903).

#### **4.3.2 Freedom of speech**

'Freedom of speech' is another core value recognized in the Dutch constitution (Article 7)<sup>79</sup> and therefore acknowledged as important by national integration policy (4.2.3). Freedom of speech, like its constitutional companions above, is defined more by the way it is practiced than by any clear cut definition. For example, the question arises as to how 'freedom of speech' is changing in definition when a traditionally 'tolerant' society<sup>80</sup> becomes progressively more 'outspoken' in its views towards one

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<sup>79</sup> See [http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/nl00000\\_.html](http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/nl00000_.html) for information on the Dutch constitution.

<sup>80</sup> See discussion on tolerance (4.3).

immigrant group, effectively increasing polarization<sup>81</sup> between various societal groups. As policy #2 states...*they* (Dutch people) *have become more and more outspoken about what they* (the Dutch people) *consider right and wrong.*<sup>82</sup> They have become *more hypocritical...find it easier to decide what is right or wrong because they judge others by these criteria but not themselves* (page 30).

Tolerance in the Netherlands has traditionally defined the boundaries of 'freedom of speech', since a failure of dialogue (too much 'outspokenness') risks: *marginalisation, alienation, discrimination, subcultures existing side by side but never engaging with each other, a kind of social 'apartheid'*, according to Policy #3. The aim of dialogue is to ensure...*a full understanding on all sides of the complex of rights and responsibilities, laws and regulations, which respect differences and make for healthy, social and cultural cohesion* (section 15). Here, policy is strong in conveying the message that differences in society should be respected, while saying 'whatever one wants' challenges the traditional definition of freedom of speech based on toleration.<sup>83</sup> Thus, the question above (4.3.1) about whether or not Dutch society is experiencing a 'fundamental break with past values' is one that can be asked here too.

### 4.3.3 Employment

Article 19 of the Dutch constitution is titled 'Work', and states that the authorities shall *promote the provision of sufficient employment...the right...to free choice of work...without prejudice*. Thus, 'work' is cherished as a norm or value since it is included in the constitution (whether it is considered a norm or a value is not clear).<sup>84</sup> Work is also valued in integration policy because of the meaning it imparts, that of participation in Dutch society which, as discussed in 4.2.4 is an essential component

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<sup>81</sup> The participants in 4.12.2 discuss how the Muslims feel *accused* which effectively polarizes society.

<sup>82</sup> The participants in 4.12.2 concur, saying the general feeling in Holland today is that *we should not consider any subjects as taboo*.

<sup>83</sup> This conclusion is similar to that reached in 4.12.2 by the participants.

<sup>84</sup> The discussion on whether 'work' is a value or a norm might be something like this...*a value is vague, described in positive terms, necessary when speaking of morality...thus, 'work' might be appreciated in the way of 'beauty' or 'justice'*. A norm, *a rule, thou shall, thou shall not...thus, 'thou shall work' might be a norm* (definitions in italics from Policy #2, page 22).

of defining an integrated person. Policy #6...*a complete participation in society...depends on, besides other things, a job...*(page 2, Appendix 4). Policy #8...*The overall goal of integration is...to find a job* (page 8).

National policy makes a strong case between participation and integration. For this reason, Policy #5 is alarmed...*research has increasingly shown that the disproportionate unemployment rates among immigrants was largely due to the -- mostly indirect -- discrimination practiced by employers in recruitment and selection procedures and in the overrepresentation of immigrants in (mass) redundancies* (page 9). ...*discrimination in public life is a fact* (page 5).

Thus 'work' is highly valued in national policy since it signals 'participation', thus 'integration' into Dutch society, but discrimination and redundancies make this goal unattainable for many immigrants.<sup>85</sup> Unable to work, many turn to welfare, the topic of the next section.

#### **4.3.4 The welfare state**

Article 20 of the Dutch constitution is titled 'Welfare' which ensures that those who cannot provide for themselves will have *aid from the authorities*. Thus, as with 'work', welfare is 'valued' by Dutch society, with access guaranteed in the constitution. However, national policy is clear that being 'on welfare' means one is not participating in Dutch society and by implication is not 'integrated'. The positive of that sentence is: ...*immigrants must participate actively in Dutch society...and comply with Dutch norms* (Policy #1) – 'work' being one of the most important norms.

Policy also indicates that many immigrants are perceived as 'not having a job' and 'being on welfare'. Policy #5...*Inactivity among migrants has resulted in a negative image and stigmatization* (page 10), even though the reasons for being unemployed

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<sup>85</sup> The discussion by the participants in **4.12.3** comes to a similar conclusion.

are related to practices of discrimination and job redundancies, or structural problems in society, as stated in 4.3.3.<sup>86</sup>

Thus, national integration policy confirms the value of ‘welfare’ in Dutch society, yet is clear that being on welfare is the equivalent of not being integrated. This lack of toleration for immigrants on welfare has increased the focus in integration policy on promoting ‘work’. One of the ways policy does this is to promote the values of *self-sufficiency*, *autonomy* and *individualism*, the topics of the following section.

#### 4.3.5 Self-sufficiency – Autonomy - Individualism

Differently than the values that have so far been analyzed, *self-sufficiency*, *autonomy* and *individualism* are not found as ‘articles’ of the constitution, yet Policy #2 states that *autonomy* is one of *six basic values*...which were *the sources of inspiration of the democratic constitutional state*...(page 54). In that sense, self-sufficiency, autonomy and individualism are ‘valued’ by Dutch society, in a similar way as are values in the constitution.<sup>87</sup> Such values are also deemed important in integration policy. Policy #2 ...*Even though there are no laws concerning this notion of individual autonomy, Dutch legislation and related policies exist to promote this notion* (page 65).

National integration policy particularly promotes these values. Policy #8...*The overall goal of integration is often considered to be self-sufficiency* (page 8). Policy #4...*The bill (new integration policy) aims to provide a more compulsory and result-oriented integration system in which it is essential that immigrants assume responsibility for themselves* (page 1). Policy #5...*The primary aim of the integration policy was to achieve active citizenship or in other words: everyone is responsible for his or her own position in society* (page 4). This focus on self-sufficiency and responsibility in national policy is to prevent dependency as discussed in 4.3.4. Policy

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<sup>86</sup> The participants point out that unemployment is due to structural problems, plus discriminatory practices by employers (4.12.3).

<sup>87</sup> See discussion on self-sufficiency, autonomy and individualism by the participants (4.12.5).



#9...*Individual independence and self-reliance should be promoted and dependence should be prevented wherever possible* (page 50).

This promotion in policy on self-reliance represents a change from past policy. Policy #5...*There was a shift from a right to care to an obligation to assume responsibility for oneself* (page 3).

While national policy clearly promotes ‘independence, self-sufficiency, and autonomy’, what it means to act in these ways is not clearly stated. Policy #9... *For the purposes of this report the principle of personal responsibility means that crucial choices are left to the individual* (page 18). It means... *Under the present Dutch social state each adult is expected to be responsible for his or her own income* (page 34). Policy #8...*governments seek to enable immigrants to lead an independent life concerning housing, job, education, social networks and participation in society* (page 8),

But the question remains...*when is a person functioning on an independent level? It is not always clear what we understand by these processes* (Policy #6, Appendix 4, page 1). Part of the problem is that...*In a society that attaches particular importance to self-reliance and independence, there will be a wide variety of lifestyles and related attitudes and behaviour* (Policy #9, page 39). Varieties of lifestyles mean there are varieties of functioning ‘independently’, and integration policy does not make clear which variety is the ‘model’.<sup>88</sup> Banton acknowledges this situation when he states that immigrants have difficulty when told to integrate into a society where ‘variations’ exist, since who decides how well the majority population ‘can be considered integrated’ (2001: 166)? Thus, autonomy and the accompanying values are considered essential to the process of integration, yet no clear model exists of that ‘integrated’ person (Favell, 2003: 29).

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<sup>88</sup> See 4.3.6 discussion on diversity and assimilation.

#### 4.3.5a Individualism / communalism

As seen above in 4.3.5, individual and self-reliant actions are promoted in policy without clearly defining what it means to act in such a way. 'Individualism' is freedom to choose, for instance. Policy #2...*These days people have much more freedom when it comes to choosing which groups they join and which values and norms they will adhere to* (page 77). 'Individualism' is also defined by contrasting it with 'communalism'. Communalism was what the Dutch experienced during pillarization<sup>89</sup> which Policy #2 describes as a time when...*values and norms...were determined by relationships, not of their own choosing...the family, the neighbourhood, and the church* (page 76-77). 'Communal' is that which negates independent action according to Policy #10...*Group norms are often imposed to discourage or suppress the personal choices of members of certain groups. Often there is no exit option, and this lack conflicts with the generally accepted principle of individual choice of values* (page 4).

National policy recognizes the conflict between modern western values of independence and self-reliance, and 'communal' values. Policy #9...*It will be clear that the norms of independence and self-reliance form part of a western society. People are addressed in terms of their individual responsibility and individual contribution. These norms may be at variance with the norms in the country of origin.* Policy #11 describes this as a 'clash'...*clash with values from other cultures where, for instance, the communal, the collective is more valued than the individual* (page 54).

Thus, independent action is defined by contrast to the communal. It is also defined by the problems individualism invites. One problem policy alludes to is what occurs in the neighbourhood. Policy #2...*when local residents start suspecting strangers in their neighbourhood, then you know that there is something wrong with society in general.* The neighbourhood represents the 'community'... *the disadvantages of*

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<sup>89</sup> See discussion on pillarization (2.4.4a).

*individualisation for the community... Recently, it has become more the 'me-first-culture' than about feelings of solidarity and altruism...(page 90-1).*

These differences between the communal and individual way of life or values should not be used to polarize society according to Policy #9...*Such cultural differences should not, however, be elevated into group characteristics...(page 50).* Policy #10 agrees...*Emphasising cultural differences in terms of divergent norms and values can lead to cultural isolation and reactions to produce cultural uniformity (page 4).*

Thus, national policy promotes the need to acquire qualities of individualism and does not promote the communal values to which many newcomers are perceived to adhere. The paradox exists that communal values are seen as lacking in the native Dutch population, values that may be more conducive to a socially cohesive society. Policy is aware that making values into group characteristics may be polarizing, and yet this is what the analysis shows that policy does.

#### **4.3.6 Diversity vs. assimilation**

'Diversity' is acknowledged in national integration policy as 'valued' in Dutch society. Policy #2...*Diversity is one of the characteristics of Dutch society (page 52).* Policy #1...*we live in a tolerant society with scope for religious, cultural and ethnic diversity (page 1).*

National policy defines diversity through description: *cultural differences (4.3.5a), a variety of lifestyles (4.3.5), the multiformity of values and norms present in society (Policy #10, page 3). Everyone is expected to...show respect for differing points of view (Policy #1, page 1).*

Such descriptions of the 'diverse' society with its 'plurality of lifestyles' and 'plurality of values and norms' support national policy claims that 'diversity' does not



mean 'assimilation'.<sup>90</sup> If assimilation happens, according to Policy #9, it is an individual's choice...*the immigration society is not just formed on the basis of those who 'were already here', but also undergoes the influences of those newly settling in the country. Such a perspective has the effect of transcending the choice in favour of or against assimilation. That is a choice which immigrants must make themselves. The government does not adopt a stance on the issue* (page 51). Policy #3...*Integration does not mean 'assimilation' and there should be recognition of the value of diversity and multiculturalism in societies* (section 14). Policy #5 bluntly states...*no compulsory assimilation is required* (page 2).

Thus, national policy does not openly equate integration with assimilation. Policy #6...*Integratie (integration) is not at all equal to 'assimilatie' in that the meaning is that migrants are asked to mingle with the Dutch culture and that they should give up their own culture and identity completely, even though, it is admitted that in daily speech, integratie sometimes has the meaning of adaptation, and then most of all in the meaning that 'they have to do it like we do it'* (Appendix 4, page 3).

The message that assimilation is not the goal of national integration policy makes it difficult to interpret other policy messages. Policy #6...*integration means that we have an agreement about the basic norms and values...all citizens must keep to the rules and norms of the Dutch democratic state* (section 4, page 2). Policy #1...*those entering must...understand Dutch values and comply with Dutch norms*.

Thus, national integration policy is clear that 'diversity' is valued in Dutch society, which means accepting a variety of lifestyles and a *multiformity* of norms and values. Policy is also clear that assimilation is 'not' valued; however, a 'keeping to' Dutch norms and values is deemed essential for integration. The question remains - how does policy reconcile a diverse society with a 'multiformity' of values with the stated goal that newcomers must accept Dutch norms and values?

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<sup>90</sup> See the literature analysis on 'assimilation' (2.3.2).

#### 4.3.7 Social cohesion

Social cohesion was frequently mentioned in national integration policy. Policy described it as a condition which has been lost.<sup>91</sup> Policy #2...*society has lost much of its social cohesion* (page 14). It was also described as dependent upon adherence to certain norms and values. Policy #1... *Respect, tolerance and the rejection of discrimination are essential to the maintenance of social cohesion* (page 1). Policy #6 is clear that social cohesion is dependent upon Dutch norms and values. *Inburgering*<sup>92</sup>, according to the Commissie, is aimed...*towards the amelioration or improvement of social cohesion. An important part of the inburgering, according to the Commissie, must be the attention to Dutch norms and values...* (Appendix 4, page 34).

As stated above, national policy defines social cohesion by its absence or loss. Policy #2 devotes sections to *unpleasant behaviour, indecent and intolerable behaviour, and illegal behaviour*. Each section makes a strong link between such behaviour and the loss of 'norms and values'. Policy #2 adds the perspective that the loss of social cohesion is connected to the rise of 'individualism'. There is...*a collapse of our society into countless islands of alienated individuals who no longer care about those around them. Old reliable frameworks such as the neighbourhood, the workplace, the church, and the trade union were disposed of much of their influence* (page 14). Policy understands these structures were instrumental in promoting social cohesion, yet as discussions in 4.3.5 and 4.3.5a concluded, 'individualism' diminishes the importance and functionality of those 'reliable frameworks'.

Thus, social cohesion is linked in national policy to the issue of norms and values and integration. However, the promotion in policy of individualistic behavior creates the paradox that what is being promoted may undermine the very thing it is hoping to

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<sup>91</sup> See discussion (2.6 and 2.6.1) on the difficulty of defining social cohesion, often defined by its absence (Vertovec, 1997: 1).

<sup>92</sup> *Inburgering* means adaptation or integration. *Inburgerer* is the one adapting or integrating.

strengthen -- social cohesion. Such a situation weakens the link policy is making between the value of individualism and the integrated individual.

#### 4.3.8 Sanctions and enforcement

*Sanctions and enforcement* play an increasingly important role in the new integration policy. It may be stretching it a bit to say that such policy provisions are becoming accepted values, yet national policy is saying that the government should set itself the task of establishing societal ‘norms’ and then make sure they are enforced. Policy #10...*the government holds the main responsibility for establishing norms, and prohibiting practices that conflict with the law. The government should prominently take a stand, more so than is now the case, and clearly state what is not acceptable in the Netherlands* (page 4). Making clear what is acceptable and enforcing ‘transgressions’ is in concert with what Dutch people want. Policy #10...*the Dutch people have little sympathy for transgressions of the law* (page 2). This view that the Dutch do not take lightly the transgression of the law is not the same view the participants express later in Part Two of this chapter (4.12.6), where flaunting certain societal rules and regulations are seen as accepted Dutch practices. The question here is whether *taking a stand* is directed mainly towards adult newcomers. Policy #9 gives authenticity to that view...*The role of government (in integration) is coercive and concerned with sanctions at a national level* (page 9).

Thus, the value placed in national integration policy on sanctions and enforcement brings up the question that Interview #11 asks (4.12.10b) whether Dutch society is undergoing a fundamental break with its past values. Enforcement focused on immigrants means that values such as ‘toleration’ are undergoing a change in definition, thus exposing relationships of inequality (Vertovec, 1997).<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> See discussion 2.4.4a on toleration.

#### 4.3.9 Policy evaluation

Despite the intent of national policy, there is an expression of concern about its ability to affect change. As Policy #9 states...*The ability to influence matters from the top – by the central government – is no more than limited and may even prove counterproductive* (page 56). Here, policy recognizes the disconnect that happens between the national and the local (Penninx: 2003: 1). Policy #5 reflects the belief that integration policy has been an overwhelming failure in the Netherlands (Entzinger, 2004: 9). *With the exception of the improved legal position of immigrants, it is hard to demonstrate a causal connection between the results obtained and the integration policy* (page 5). Thus, the effectiveness of national policy is uncertain as regards integration.

#### 4.4 Summary

Sections 4.3 through 4.3.9 analyzed individual norms and values as seen by national integration policy. A brief summary follows:

(4.3.1) analyzed separation of church and state and freedom of religion.

- The importance of these core values is defined by the context in which they are practiced. Since there is evidence of an increasing ‘intolerance’ for certain religious groups, the question is whether the meaning of these core values is changing.

(4.3.2) analyzed freedom of speech.

- The traditional boundaries of freedom of speech based on toleration are changing as people are encouraged to ‘say what they want’. However, this change relates mainly to the non-immigrant population. The question then, as in 4.3.1, becomes whether the meaning of this core value is also changing.

(4.3.3) analyzed the value of employment.

- Work is highly valued in the Netherlands. There is a strong link between being ‘integrated’ and having a job. However, discrimination and structural

problems keep many immigrants from employment and thus from being considered 'integrated'.

**(4.3.4)** analyzed the value of the welfare system.

- The welfare system is highly valued in Dutch society, yet being an immigrant and being on welfare signals a person who is not 'integrated' although the same label is not applied to native Dutch who are on welfare.

**(4.3.5)** analyzed self-sufficiency, autonomy and individualism.

- These qualities are valued in Dutch society as the mark of an integrated person. However, policy is not clear as to what it means to act in such ways. Furthermore, since Dutch society recognizes and claims toleration of a variety of lifestyles, the question arises as to how well the native Dutch are 'integrated' and which lifestyle serves as the 'model'.

**(4.3.5a)** analyzed individualism and communalism.

- Individualism is valued in policy over communal behaviour. However, a paradox exists in that communal values are considered essential to social cohesion, values which policy sees lacking in the native Dutch population.

**(4.3.6)** analyzed diversity and assimilation.

- Policy is clear that diversity is valued, and assimilation is not. However, a contradiction exists since policy is clear that 'assimilation' into the norms and values of Dutch society are the marks of an integrated person.

**(4.3.7)** analyzed social cohesion.

- Policy clearly links social cohesion with adherence to Dutch norms and values. A contradiction exists in that policy promotes the value of individualistic behaviour while such behaviour is seen to play a part in the breakdown of social cohesion. Linking individualism to integration, therefore, may work against strengthening social cohesion.

**(4.3.8)** analyzed sanctions and enforcement.

- Sanctions and enforcement are valued in integration policy but may not be equally valued when applied to the wider non-immigrant community. This results in 'toleration' of some who break the law but not for others. However, if integration policy is poorly designed such that enforcement and sanctions



are difficult or impossible to impose, the legitimacy of law is considered harmed.

(4.3.9) analyzed policy.

- The ability of national integration policy to effect change is seen as limited while past policy has been considered a failure.

## 4.5 Education

The final section on national integration policy deals with education. Policy is clear that education has an important role in teaching Dutch norms and values. At times, the role of education is defined as particular to ‘schools’. Policy #10 states...*a special role is often assigned to schools and education involving the transference of common values and norms* (page 5). Policy #5 concurs...*more attention (must) be paid at school to the transfer of the most important values of the Dutch constitutional state* (page 21).

However, more frequently, policy uses the term ‘education’ in a broad, often vague and undefined manner. Policy #2 states... *A substantial effort in the area of education and upbringing, where universal values have a self-evident place, is the most important condition for the future* (page 94). Policy #2 again...*education...must be concerned with the conveyance of cultural values and norms* (page 82), and with *persuading others of the importance of the fundamental values of the constitutional state* (page 98).

The clarity expressed in policy that ‘education’ has a role in teaching norms and values to adult newcomers is not marked by a similar clarity in what the definition of ‘education’ is, or how this ‘education’ should be carried out. In fact, as is shown in the analysis of both national and local policy, and in the analysis of the interviews further in this chapter, ‘education’ in its traditionally conceived form involving classrooms and teachers, curriculum and educational centres where integration courses for adult newcomers have been conducted in the past, are in the process of

being dismantled by the Dutch government. Yet the rhetoric about ‘education’ being the most important means by which newcomers learn Dutch norms and values remains prevalent in policy, thus making the quest to understand how policy intends this ‘education’ to take place, an important one.

In analyzing national policy, one educational method is discernable, that of the process of ‘imitation’. Policy #2...*The transfer of values and norms is most dependent on imitation of good and bad behaviour...*(page 82). Importantly, such transference includes the implicitly and explicitly understood ‘unwritten rules’ (Policy #5, page 5) and ‘social rules’ (Policy #6, 34-35).<sup>94</sup>

An interesting factor in policy’s stated objective to learn norms and values through imitation is that the implicit and explicit ‘rules’, stated above, must be learned in a country that values ‘diversity’, with its resultant varieties of values and, it follows, varieties of behavior. National policy recognizes this diversity.<sup>95</sup> Policy #8...*with regard to values, it should be recognized that the resident population (in Holland) is also very diverse in terms of values and behaviours.*

Policy also recognizes (Policy #8) that the behavior of the ‘resident’ population *does not always live up to the standards presented to immigrants*. Policy #10...*Even when people subscribe to the same values, their actual behaviour, which is based on these values, can differ greatly* (page 2). Policy #2...*to familiarize others with values and norms requires that those involved also practice what they preach* (page 84). Thus, learning norms and values through imitation of the resident population presents problems because of the complexity and diversity of behaviours.

Take for example, the government film, *Naar Nederland*, which all prospective immigrants to the Netherlands must view and then take an exam on while in their

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<sup>94</sup> See 4.2.3 on unwritten rules and social rules.

<sup>95</sup> See analysis on diversity (4.3.6).

country of origin.<sup>96</sup> The purpose of the film is to introduce the adult newcomer to Dutch society, presenting a variety of lifestyles. A segment of the film shows a woman emerging from the sea 'topless', while another shows two men kissing on the beach.<sup>97</sup> The point is to prepare adult newcomers for such scenes once they arrive in the Netherlands, and to convey to them that this is how life is - nudity and homosexuality are accepted forms of behaviour. The distribution of the film caused such a furore that the Dutch government had to produce an 'expurgated' version of the film for certain Muslim countries where such scenes are considered pornographic and viewing them is against the law.

The point of mentioning the film is to highlight that such a film creates a stereotypical view of Holland, which is to say that everyone accepts such behaviour. However, as already noted in 4.3.6, national policy maintains that Holland is a country of diverse lifestyles and beliefs which means that such behaviour is accepted by some and not by others. This plurality of views is not conveyed in the film. Rather, the message in the film is that 'this is the way we are' and 'if you come here, you must be this way too.'

Besides learning through imitation, another learning process discernable in policy is to 'learn by doing', which operates in relation to the integration courses and exam and is in relation to 'the open market'. Policy #4 states...*the integration obligation will only have been met when people have successfully passed their integration test* (page 1). To pass the exam, adult immigrants must attain a certain level of proficiency in the Dutch language and have knowledge of Dutch society. Attaining this proficiency and knowledge means immigrants must participate in the market economy under competitive conditions. Policy #7... *competitive conditions exist in an open market...for the supply of education and examinations* (page 1). Policy

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<sup>96</sup> See Appendix VI for information on 'Naar Nederland'.

<sup>97</sup> There are aspects of the filming that make these scenes seem a bit 'in your face'. The camera does not scan the scene of the woman emerging topless from the water, nor of the men kissing, but takes time to focus. One may ask, tongue in cheek, if the film is saying to newcomers that in Holland, it is okay to stare when one sees such scenes.

#5...government will *let market mechanisms regulate* (page 7). Thus, immigrants learn that the Dutch value the 'open market' and 'competition', and that to attain 'integration', adult immigrants must be competitive and know how to access 'the market'.<sup>98</sup>

In both methods, 'learning by doing' and 'imitation', however, immigrants may learn 'other than' or 'more than' what is intended. This may happen when the integration exam is valued for what it confers, yet is not valued by others who have status in Dutch society. Policy #2... *Most experts agree there needs to be more clarity regarding the status of the test and its importance in the integration process of newcomers* (page 85). This clarity was not apparent when one hundred Dutch people sat for a mock exam on Dutch society, including former Minister of Immigration, Hilbrand Nawijn. The participants scored an average of 6.7 to 6.9 points out of 10. The minister *launched a scathing attack on the proposed exam...calling the questions foolish and ridiculous*.<sup>99</sup> Although there may have been a political intent in the denigration of the exam by the former minister, it is clear that some of the questions were less than probing about Dutch society, even stereotypical and prejudicial. Examples included: *Question: When visiting someone, what is the best thing you can do? Answer: bring along a small present. Question: What is so good about a Dutch man? Answer: reliability.* Thus, if this section of the exam is mocked by those who are seen as 'experts' in the field of integration, the passing of which is so important<sup>100</sup> for the 'prize' of residency it conveys, it seems valid to ask what unintended, and perhaps undesirable norms and values are taught, through imitation or otherwise, to adult newcomers who must value what other segments of society see as 'foolish'.

Thus, national policy is clear that Dutch norms and values should be taught as part of the integration process. Policy is also clear that education plays a major role, but

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<sup>98</sup> See 2.4.4 for discussion on self-sufficiency and the market factor in integration policy.

<sup>99</sup> See *Integration exam foolish and ridiculous*. 1 November, 2004.

<[www.expatica.com](http://www.expatica.com)>

<sup>100</sup> Policy #6 states that passing the exam does not contain the 'whole integration process' only a first step (Appendix 4, page 4).

teaching methods are not clearly defined, although ‘imitation’ and ‘learn by doing’ are discernable. However, national policy is realistic that in the end, however much policy strives to change a person’s value system.... *Values remain hidden inside the heads and hearts of the people and thus cannot be so easily prohibited* (Policy #2, page 97).

## **Conclusion**

Sections 4.2.2 – 4.5 analyzed national integration policy, beginning with a general discussion of norms and values, moving into individual norms and values and finally, analyzing education in relation to norms and values. Contradictions and complexities were analyzed, but conclusions about these are presented in *Chapter Five-Conclusions*.

The next section analyzes local policy, which national policy recognizes as important. As policy #9 states... *Migrants meet the indigenous population and one another mainly at local and functional levels. This is, therefore, also the level at which the greatest gains can be made when it comes to promoting participation* (56). Policy #9...the local is where *the implementation problems of national policy rules and laws will manifest themselves* (page 20).

## **4.6 Part One (con't)**

### **Analysis of Local Integration Policy (Rotterdam)**

This section analyzes integration policy at the local Rotterdam level. The analysis includes comments on differences that appear between local and national policy but conclusions about those differences, if pertinent, are presented in *Chapter Five-Conclusions*. This section follows the structure, as closely as possible, to that of the structure in *Part One-Analysis of National Integration Policy*. This includes an analysis of the importance of norms and values, an analysis of particular norms and values, and an analysis of the role of education in relation to integration and norms and values.

#### **4.6.1 Local Policy Provenance**

The following is a list of policies that are analyzed in *Part One-Analysis of Local Integration Policy (Rotterdam)*. Full bibliographic information is presented in the bibliography

Policy 1 – *Changing policies on immigrants in Rotterdam* (2001) concerns rationale behind municipal policy on immigrants. 46 page report. English and Dutch.

Policy 2 - *The city of Rotterdam: challenges in the field of migration and integration. Round table discussion* (2004). Report of roundtable discussion with members of international steering committee of Metropolis Project, representatives of city of Rotterdam and invited guests, on challenges Rotterdam faces. 46 pages. In English.

Policy 3 - *Rotterdam continues: On the Pathway to a Balanced City* (2003). Report by Municipal Executive Committee. Analysis of developments, problems and solutions. Details five action plans. 77 pages. In English.

Policy 4 – *Migration and Major Cities Policy in Rotterdam*. (1998) Report on Rotterdam as part of major cities report (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) presented to government. Suggestions on policy geared to combat deprivation and to strengthen economic structures. On-line report.

Policy 5 - *Integration Monitor 2000 Abridgement*. Commissioned by Social and Cultural Planning Office Rotterdam. Report sets out extent to which the integration of ethnic minorities has developed in wide range of areas. 28 pages. In English.

Policy 6 - *Islam & Integratie: zo denken ze erover*. (2004) Report on internal debates by Rotterdam city government. Sociale integratie moslims aan het woord. 88 pages. In Dutch.

Policy 7 - *Islam & Integratie: Sociale integratie...zo zijn de spelregels*. Spelregels publieke debatten (2005) City government of Rotterdam on Islam and Integration. Public debates and on-line site. In Dutch.

Policy 8 – *Interview with Burgemeester Opstelten* (Mayor of Rotterdam) over het belang van een discussie over Waarden en Normen (2002) discussing values and norms. In Dutch.

Policy 9 – *Delta Plan: Living Together In Rotterdam* (2002) Details of what city wants to do in areas of integration and how to implement plan. 33 pages. In English.

Policy 10 - *The Rotterdam Experience*. Paper presented at Conference 'Policy of the City of Prague and other Czech and European cities towards Ethnic Groups' (2002) Policy advisor for city of Rotterdam describes policy of city towards ethnic groups focusing on co-operation and communication.

#### 4.6.2 Importance of norms and values

Local (Rotterdam) integration policy confirms the importance of norms and values in the integration process, as did the analysis of national policy. Policy #3...*a society cannot function properly without a number of shared norms and rules of conduct* (page 37).

To confirm this importance, the Rotterdam city government organized city-wide debates on 'norms and values' in 2004 and 2005. The first set of debates was held over a period of several months in 2004. Twenty-five 'experts', determined as such because of their status in a particular ethnic community and/or their educational backgrounds, conducted meetings within their communities on the issue of norms and values (Policy #6). The second set of nine debates was held on the issue of *Islam and Integratie*. These debates, to which the public was invited, took place in 2005. The debates were filmed for broadcast on local TV, and moderated by famous personalities. Rotterdam's mayor and vice mayor and other 'aldermen' attended. Each one focused on a norm or value considered significant for integration into Dutch society (Policy #7).<sup>101</sup>

#### 4.6.3 Norms and values - define

Policy is clear that norms and values are important in the process of integration as seen above in 4.6.2, yet policy is not so clear as to how these norms and values are defined. Policy #2...*We are wrestling with the issue of norms and values in the Dutch situation. Values are easily connected to religion et cetera, which makes this a very confusing and big problem...*(page 38). Policy #8...*If we speak about norms and values, then we speak about the 'core' of the agreements that we make with each other, about how we want to live with each other. Those agreements you find in the law. The interpretation of it is broad* (page 1). These values include...*total honesty; openness to others; freedom; family; responsible for others in society* (Policy #8, page 1). However, if one looks at the debate topics mentioned above, then norms and values are defined in relation to Islam: homosexuality, the role of women, work,

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<sup>101</sup> See Appendix VII for list of debate topics for both sets of debates.



safety and terrorism, religion. As one participant says in 4.11.3 and is worth mentioning here, the debate ‘topics’...*implicitly or explicitly, tell us what are Dutch standards. We are ‘whatever’* (Interview #5).

Local policy also defines values by the focus it places on particular topics within the policy. Policy #4 focuses on *employment, activating entrepreneurs and safety*. Policy #3 focuses on *nuisance and crime, the economy, education and work*. Policy #2 focuses on *work, education and crime*. Thus, ‘work’, ‘education’, and ‘social cohesion’, it can be deduced, are highly valued by integration policy.

#### **4.6.4 Norms and values - Integration**

As has been previously noted, the term ‘integration’ is analyzed because of its importance to this research (2.3.1). Local policy does not succeed at defining ‘integration’ any more than the participants do (4.11.3), or national policy (4.2.3). Rather, integration is defined by focusing on what the immigrant must do to participate. Policy #9 states... *Integration...implies getting to terms with the language, recognising the deeper meaning... a thorough understanding of what people mean, their humour, but their doubts and anger as well. This can only be learnt properly by taking an active part in society, by entering into a dialogue with fellow citizens, by showing involvement* (page 10). Policy #9 continues...*Although learning the Dutch language remains the essence of integration policy, becoming acquainted with our standards and values, also in terms of practice, is another aspect of integration...* (page 11).

Thus, ‘integration’ is a process that includes learning the language and becoming acquainted with Dutch norms and values which promote participation in society. Here policy states that becoming integrated is ‘learnt’ by showing involvement, being active, entering into dialogue. Thus, ‘education’ is once again defined vaguely and broadly.

Policy also stresses that participation of immigrants is necessary to combat issues of distrust.<sup>102</sup> Policy #10 details this distrust from the perspective of the native Dutch *...migrants take advantage of the social security system; migrants choose to live together in some neighborhoods, choose for segregation, don't want to integrate; migrants are not loyal to Dutch society; migrants are hostile to western democracy; migrants are a security risk, in the tram, on the street everywhere* (page 10). This distrust is also detailed from the perspective of the immigrant *...the Dutch speak with two tongues; they have two sets of judgments, one for themselves, one for immigrants, especially when it concerns Muslims; the Dutch always quarrel, look for problems; the Dutch preach about tolerance, the right to have your own identity, respect for other cultures, but nevertheless, they want us to assimilate; the open society is not open to us* (page 10).

Policy attempts to address the issue of 'distrust' by proclaiming that integration is a two-way street. Policy #9 *...The entire city shares in the responsibility for the success of integration...demanding a great effort from the person who wishes to integrate, to 'join the flow' in a new environment. It also demands an effort from the 'receiving' society, which will, after all have to allow room to the person who integrates* (page 10). Policy #1 talks about the *shared responsibility... of all parties* (7). Learning the language and becoming acquainted with Dutch norms and values is clearly stated as the responsibility of adult newcomers, yet there is little in policy spelled out for the native Dutch population to do. Policy #2 *...I must confess that we have written thousands of times that integration is a two-way process, but we didn't develop the political instruments in order to promote that* (page 31).

Thus, even though policy recognizes that integration is a 'two-way street', it is mostly concerned with the work a migrant must do. Of a more serious nature is the fact that

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<sup>102</sup> There is no particular section in *Chapter Four* which refers to 'distrust'. Rather, the issue of distrust is filtered throughout the policy and interviews.

integration itself is not well defined. Policy #5... *In the first place, it is by no means always clear whether a person has (sufficiently) integrated.*<sup>103</sup> (page 8).

## **4.7 Dutch norms and values**

Sections 4.6.1 through 4.6.4 analyzed local policy which determined that Dutch norms and values are important to the integration process, that it is difficult to define norms and values, and that integration is linked to 'results' for which the immigrant is largely responsible. The next section analyzes particular norms and values as they appear in local policy, following as closely as possible the organization of topics in the national policy.

### **4.7.1 Employment**

Work or 'having a job' was mentioned in 4.3.3 as an article of the constitution and highly valued in Dutch society. Local policy also presented 'work' as valued, since work is considered important in the process of integration. Policy #3 states...*regular work is a great aid to integration* (page 16).

Work relates to integration, according to Policy #2 in that it teaches...*young people to earn a bit of money but probably the most important thing they learn is responsibility* (page 40). Work is also valued for the...*possibilities for establishing an independent existence in the city* (Policy #3, page 8).

Although 'work' is valued in the integration process, local policy sees government as responsible for helping immigrants gain access to employment. Policy #1 refers to the early 90's when the city of Rotterdam sought to hire immigrants in city departments...*attention was focused on the role of the city as a very important employer...*(page 11). Here, there was an attempt to actualize the two-way street concept discussed in 4.6.4. However, not long after the policy was instituted, the city was *hampered by a 'hiring freeze'* (page 14) Thus, the two-way street concept

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<sup>103</sup> See literature analysis on what integration means (2.2.1) and (2.3).

involving both immigrants and the host society is often thwarted, and as Joppke notes, the bulk of the burden is on the shoulders of the immigrants (2003: 248).

#### **4.7.2 The welfare state**

Policy addressed the welfare state, not directly commenting on its value to Dutch society<sup>104</sup> but commenting instead on the reaction when it is perceived to be over-used, especially by immigrants. Policy #1...*In 2000, almost 60% of people on welfare proved to be immigrants* (page 5). This situation is one of the reasons given for the rise of the far-right in Rotterdam...*There does seem to be a fairly strong correlation between the far right's electoral success and the unemployment rate among immigrants* (page 6). Eliminating the welfare system might solve the problem of overuse, but is not really an option since it is so highly valued. Policy #2...*It could be a solution to take away a great part of our welfare state and our social security system, because then the problem (immigrants on welfare) would solve itself. Dutch people don't want to do that* (page 37).

Policy linked use of the welfare system to 'failure to contribute to society'. Those who are on welfare are seen as not contributing, and therefore, as not adhering to Dutch norms and values, specifically that of 'work'. Policy #3...*Nuisance, the failure to comply with norms and values in the public domain, inactivity, and the failure to contribute to society according to one's ability, undermine the solidarity and credibility of the social system* (page 11). Such a comment emanating from 'integration' policy connects immigrants on welfare with a 'failure to contribute'.<sup>105</sup>

#### **4.7.3 Self sufficiency – individualism vs. collectivism**

Self-sufficiency, individualism and autonomy are values that the participants (4.12.5) and national policy (4.3.5) confirm as important in integration policy. Local policy also confirmed their importance. Policy #9...*The starting-point of the Rotterdam integration policy is that it is the immigrant himself who is responsible for his*

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<sup>104</sup> The welfare state is referred to in Article 20 of the constitution, as mentioned in 4.12.4.

<sup>105</sup> See discussion (4.12.4) on how 'immigrant' and 'poverty' are equated.

*integration process* (page 11). Importance was also implied by describing past policy as ineffective since it did not incorporate independence and self-sufficiency. Policy #1...*Policies almost exclusively based on government-provided support had to be replaced by a policy that created the conditions in which self-reliant citizens could build up their own lives and take responsibility...particularly to build up an independent existence* (page 12).

Local policy also clarified that self-sufficient and individualistic behavior was preferred to that of collective behavior. Policy #4...*A more individualistic way of life is in keeping with direct action when there is reason for dissatisfaction, whilst a way of life which is still focused on the collective, is more associated with the tendency to wait for a sign from the powers that be or a group initiative.* Policy acknowledged, however, that behavior based on individualism may conflict with that based on a collective value system. *Indications of a more collectivistic way of life can be found among the ethnic minorities in the form of more religiousness, a higher degree of conformity and more focus on one's own circle. This way of life represents a handicap in society which is highly individualized* (Policy #4).

Yet, policy pointed out the danger in making behavior based on individualism the main characteristic of an integrated person. Policy #5...*If these results are viewed in terms of integration, it is worth pointing out that the members of the autochthonous population cannot be regarded as 'integrated' in their totality. There is also a part of the autochthonous population that is less modern* (page 24).

Thus, in contrast to national policy, local policy did not point out the negatives that result from an individualistically oriented society, although it did note the error of the stereotypical thinking that all native Dutch people act in an individualistic manner. Thus, making individualism the cornerstone of the 'integrated' person is problematic. Here, local policy reflects what Churchill notes is the tension in society as it struggles to define itself in relation to integration (1984: 240), in this case, the struggle between a collectivist and individualistic view.

#### 4.7.4 Diversity

As was discussed in 4.3.6, national policy saw 'diversity' as a valued concept in Dutch society. Local integration policy points out that diversity is a fact of modern life, and should be valued. Policy #2 states...*Diversity is increasing in all our cities. Diversity is unquestionably part of our future...diversity is a good thing* (page 13).

As is seen in 4.12.7, the participants discuss 'diversity' in relation to housing policy and the density of ethnic neighborhoods in Rotterdam. Local policy also focused on housing policy. Policy #1...*We can therefore say that the growing number of immigrants also affected public-housing policies. The result of growth is that we need to manage diversity* (Policy #2, page 13).

This management of diversity relates to the in-flow and out-flows of people, similar to what the participants say in *Part Two*. Policy #3...*Among those leaving the city, we see many high-income groups (twice the average income and upwards), while the low-income groups (up to average income) in particular are flowing into the city* (page 16). Local policy clearly wants to manage diversity to prevent Rotterdam from becoming 'immigrant' and 'poor'...*As a result, Rotterdam will remain a poor city. In terms of ethnicity, it is striking that the exodus is characterised by relatively large numbers of the indigenous population and few non-western immigrants* (page 16). Policy feeds into the fear that immigrants will soon be the majority. Policy #2...*46% of the city is now 'immigrant', maybe 57% in the future. In certain parts of the city, 85%...that is not diversity anymore...that's something like a takeover rather than diversity* (page 16). Policy #3 declares...*The city has reached the limits of its absorption capacity and has even exceeded them* (page 1).

Thus, while local policy values 'diversity', there is a belief that 'diversity means 'immigrant' and 'immigrant' means 'poor'. Policy reflects the thinking that 'diversity leads to poverty'. Rotterdam's response is to try to manage 'density' of neighborhoods by curtailing immigration.

#### 4.7.5 Social cohesion

Social cohesion is 'valued' on a national level (4.3.7) but even greater 'value' is placed on social cohesion in local policy. Social cohesion in national policy is linked to the issue of norms and values and to 'integration'. This same link is found in local policy, evident in the comparison of value systems between immigrants and those of western society. Policy #1...*To what extent have immigrants clung to elements of their cultural identity that run counter to the basic values of Western society, including democratization, individualization, personal freedom and emancipation? If these elements do exist, it should be the aim of immigrant-related policies to ensure that these contradictions are removed, lest the cohesion of society be affected and population groups be pitted against each other* (page 23). Thus, local policy is clear that a set of core values exists to which everyone must adhere, reasoning that cohesion is possible only when everyone shares similar values.

Policy #3 concurs with this reasoning...*Only recently did people start to realize that a society cannot function properly without a number of shared norms and rules of conduct. A policy on diversity – making use of the added value of different cultures – is counterproductive without social cohesion* (page 38).<sup>106</sup>

Local policy details what an absence of social cohesion looks like.<sup>107</sup> Policy #2...*85% of the street crime in Rotterdam is committed by people from abroad...The houses for beaten women are full with immigrant women...*(page 34). Policy #3...*in certain districts (in Rotterdam)...inappropriate behaviour, nuisance and crime are accumulating to such a degree that this is in danger of becoming uncontrollable and the population is feeling increasingly dissatisfied* (page 4). Thus, policy points the finger at immigrants.

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<sup>106</sup> See 4.12.9, 4.14.2b and 4.3.7 where the same conclusions are reached in the interviews and in national policy.

<sup>107</sup> See reference to social cohesion defined by its absence in the Literature Analysis (2.6.1) and analysis of national policy (4.3.7).

Policy cautions, however, that stigmatization can occur from blaming the loss of social cohesion on a particular group. Policy #2...*We need to be very distinct about what kind of problems we're dealing with. If we're dealing with social problems as if they are ethnic problems, we might actually stigmatize a group of people that do not need to be stigmatized* (page 27). However, stigmatization already exists: Policy #3...*Members of the ethnic groups themselves react to this with resentment, particularly those young people who are successfully acquiring a place for themselves in society. They do not wish to be accused of the inappropriate and nuisance causing behaviour caused by a small proportion of their peers* (page 15).

Thus, social cohesion is valued in local policy. Its perceived demise is blamed on immigrants, who feel stigmatized and resentful since other social factors are ignored. Such a situation is seen to polarize the city, resulting in further damage to social cohesion. Policy reflects the belief that cohesion depends on the adherence by everyone to a similar set of values, those core values defined earlier.

#### **4.7.6 Islam**

The participants in 4.12.9c mention Islam when speaking about social cohesion. The connection has to do, in part, with the belief that various Islamic norms and values 'clash' with Dutch norms and values. This 'clash' revealed itself in events such as 9/11 and the murder of the Dutch film maker, Theo van Gogh, which resulted in an *increased suspicion of Islam* (Policy #3, page 15). Local policy describes this suspicion. Policy #1...*It is not our intention to write a doomsday scenario...but there are...tangible feelings of fear among native Rotterdamers about the influence of the Muslim faith on our modernized Western society* (page 21).

Fear from a different source is felt by the Muslim community, as the summary from the 'expert debates' makes clear.<sup>108</sup> Policy #6...*there is .a strong feeling of we vs. them - Muslims in Rotterdam feel excluded - Netherlanders are prejudiced about Islam because of poor knowledge, prejudice and discrimination - among young*

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<sup>108</sup> See 4.6.2 for the discussion on 'expert' debates.



*Muslims is a strong ambivalence: living according to Islamic beliefs, but on the other side, a desire to build a bridge to the Dutch society - among the young, a fear of more polarization - some feel unworthy due to a lack of hospitality on the part of Rotterdamers (section 1).*

The above summary concludes that Muslims feel misunderstood and unwelcome in their own city. Yet, rather than express this as a 'clash' in values (as expressed above), a summary of the expert debates states that Islam and western values are indeed 'compatible'. Policy #6 ... *universal norms in all debates were stressed - The western way of thinking is in alignment with Islam - Fundamentalist beliefs are not dominating - So long as one's own norms and values are in accordance with democratic rules and the rule of law, Muslims can follow their own norms and values - if their norms and values conflict with democratic rules and the rule of law, then the rules of the Netherlands apply (section 2).*

Local policy, thus, acknowledges the growing distrust between communities in Rotterdam which, as stated in 4.7.5, polarizes the city and is detrimental to the existence of a socially cohesive society. Yet, the 'clash' in value systems between Islam and the west is not supported by other policy conclusions which state that Muslim values are compatible with western ones. However, since policy creates 'voice', and determines what is heard and what is considered truthful (Ball, 1994), and since the non-immigrant voice dominates in policy, then what is heard is that Dutch norms and values are not compatible with Muslim ones.<sup>109</sup>

#### **4.7.6a Islam - emancipation of women**

The emancipation of women is understood to be valued in local policy as a constitutionally guaranteed principle (4.6.2 and 4.6.3). Local policy addresses emancipation and integration as one. Thus, Muslim women who reject opportunities

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<sup>109</sup> Defining Muslim values as incompatible with western values is a theme that runs throughout the thesis: the literature review, interviews and policy analysis.

to be 'emancipated' are seen to reject integration as well. Policy #8, when speaking about young adult women...*In the question of integratie and emancipation, these subjects worry me the most. You see lots of young girls that have lots of opportunities, and do nothing with it. That's not good, not for them, and surely, neither for society. These girls have to be stimulated in order to do something with these opportunities. Even if they themselves do not want that* (page 1).

Policy cites Pim Fortuyn<sup>110</sup> from Rotterdam who was quite provocative in stating that *Islam is a backward culture* (Policy #10, page 8) in its treatment of women. As noted in 4.7.5 ...*The houses for beaten women* (in Rotterdam) *are full with immigrant women* (page 34). Thus, policy blames Islam for the lack of emancipation among Muslim women. The deduction is that, once again, policy sees Moslem values in opposition to western ones.

#### 4.7.7 Assimilation

Local policy is clear that 'assimilation' is valued.<sup>111</sup> Policy #3...*We* (City of Rotterdam) *must make huge efforts in terms of assimilation and integration and adopt a more pro-active approach* (page 5). *An important instrument in promoting integration is assimilation* (page 37). Policy #9...*Whoever wishes to live in the Netherlands has an obligation to participate and to adapt* (page 12).

Local policy sees assimilation as part of the process of 'integration'. The assimilative part refers to Dutch norms and values. Policy #3...*An important starting point is that initial responsibility for active assimilation rests with the person him/herself. That does not mean that a person exchanges his own cultural values or identity for the Dutch alternative. It does mean that the behaviour of an assimilator is appropriate and in line with Dutch norms* (page 37). However, local policy does not explain how this balance between one's own value system and that of behaving *in line with Dutch norms* is facilitated.

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<sup>110</sup> See 1.3 footnote 7, page 17, reference to Pim Fortuyn.

<sup>111</sup> See discussion on assimilation (2.3.2).

Adaptation takes time, but Policy #3 states...*A majority of the indigenous population believes that the ethnic minorities do not do enough to adapt* (page 15). This perception leads to 'unrest' ...*As public opinion on ethnic minorities has formed, there has been a shift from friendly interest in the culture and habits of ethnic groups to unrest about the drawbacks of a multi-ethnic society* (page 15). Policy connects this 'unrest' with the present focus on Dutch norms and values. Policy #9...*What we find, however, is that many citizens, immigrant and native alike, can hardly get a grip on this notion of the 'multicultural society' either. The need is felt for unity in diversity. It is for this reason that various initiatives have by now received our support, with a view to the development of a set of shared standards and values...*(page 8).

Thus, local integration policy values assimilation as part of integration. This is similar to the views the participants express, that assimilation into the norms and values of Dutch society is essential but integration into everything else is okay (**4.12.10a**). This contrasts with national policy (**4.3.6**) which states that assimilation is not the goal - integration is. Here, local policy reflects the confusion that the terms 'integration' and 'assimilation' incur, such as discussed extensively in **2.3** through **2.3.4c**, and as reflected by Korac who sees the terms as 'complex and ambiguous' (2003: 52) or are, as May describes, 'A Babylonian confusion of terms' (2003: 1-2).

#### **4.7.8 Integration Policy**

In **4.12.10**, the participants state that the aims and goals of integration policy are valued. This same valuing appear in local policy as a 'restriction on immigration'. This restriction is carried out by the national government but understood to help cities like Rotterdam cope with 'integration'. Policy #10...*Rotterdam urged central government to adopt a restrictive national immigration policy* (page 10). Policy #2...*we have to stop now with allowing people to come in or at least reduce the trend dramatically... that will give us time to help the people who are already here and who need help. That's all we are asking* (page 34). Policy #3... *Only in this way can integration in Rotterdam become a reality* (page 6). This belief that integration

depends on stopping or severely curtailing immigration is echoed by the participants (4.11.5) and is present in the literature analysis (Doomernick et al, 1997: 24).

Another valued goal in local policy is to have local control over the process of integration. Policy #2 ...*Integration is very much a local issue...It is really a city problem* (page 11). Support for this goal comes from a feeling that Rotterdam is in trouble. Policy #3...*the situation is very urgent* (page 4). *The committee* (Inspection Committee for the Big Cities Policy) *is impressed by the extraordinary nature of the problems facing Rotterdam* (page 11). Policy #9 describes how people feel... *'Rotterdam is no longer my city' is regularly heard. On the other hand there is a large group indicating: 'Rotterdam is not yet my city' (page 5).*

Local control is also valued because of a sense that central government has failed. Policy #1 says *'failure'...was largely attributed to policies pursued by the central government. This is why the city administration wanted to have more room for maneuver. Repeatedly and forcefully, Rotterdam argued in favor of further decentralization, particularly with respect to social reform in the four biggest cities in the Netherlands* (page 13). Policy notes that Rotterdam has a history as the *'rebel'...Rotterdam has a long tradition of opposing the central government* (page 21), and as *'innovator'...Rotterdam sometimes served as a trendsetter, deviating from national policies and often enough attempting to win over central government...a trailblazer...* (page 18).

Additionally, local control is valued for the control the city has over who moves in and out. Such control facilitates the process of integration according to Policy #2...*as a city, you should have some control about who can move into your city and who can't. That's the policy part connected to the premise that integration is a local issue* (page 16). Here again, the thinking is that integration is dependent on stopping immigration. Further, it is dependent on 'density', meaning that beyond a certain number, integration is not possible.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> See 4.12.7 and 4.7.4 discussion relating diversity to 'density' and integration.

Local policy recognizes, however, that even with local control, change is slow. Policy #2....*The problem for policy makers and politicians is that they have to try to manage change by using institutions that take a long time, almost glacial periods, to change* (page 25). Here policy reflects how policy intent and implementation are often mismatched, as noted in the literature analysis (Loo et al, 2001:103), by the interviewees (4.4.2c???) and by national policy (4.3.9).

Thus, policy recognizes the importance of local control for successful integration to occur, yet also recognizes that local control does not insure successful implementation.

#### **4.7.8a Integration policy - sanctions and enforcement**

Local policy also values 'sanctions and enforcement'. Policy #1 states that immigrants need to...*take responsibility for their own lives; otherwise, there is...the possibility of imposing sanctions*. Policy describes this as *the no-nonsense approach – a term that is in line with the tougher language being used in policy documents...* (page 17). Policy #3 sums up the no-nonsense approach...*Our message is clear: we are going to do even more to promote integration in our city. At the same time, we are going to come down harder on those who abuse what Rotterdam has to offer* (page 14). Thus, sanctions include a position of 'integrate or else'. This assumes the unwillingness of the immigrant to 'integrate' unless consequences are attached.<sup>113</sup>

#### **4.8 Summary**

Sections 4.7 through 4.7.8a analyzed particular norms and values as presented in local integration policy:

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<sup>113</sup> See discussion on national policy, 'sanctions and enforcement' 4.3.8.

(4.7.1) analyzed employment.

- Policy recognized that immigrants have a duty to work to learn responsibility and financial independence. Government has a duty to help immigrants find jobs. Policy reflected that this two-way street concept functions as a one-way street most of the time, the burden to integrate placed primarily on the immigrant.

(4.7.2) analyzed the welfare state.

- The welfare system is valued in Dutch society. Immigrants, however, are seen as overly-represented. Since being on welfare signals a lack of participation in society, and participation means one is 'integrated', it follows that immigrants, on welfare, are not integrated. However, this same logic is not found in policy regarding the native Dutch population who are on welfare.

(4.7.3) analyzed self-sufficiency, and individualism vs. collectivism.

- Policy pointed out the negatives of acting collectively in a society that reveres individualistic behavior. Although self-sufficiency and individualism are bound up with the notion of the integrated person, policy recognized that not all those thought of as 'integrated' act in this way.

(4.7.4) analyzed diversity.

- Diversity is valued but is linked to immigration and poverty in that the most diverse neighborhoods in Rotterdam are immigrant and poor. Policy sees this as a problem that can be solved by curtailing immigration into the city.

(4.7.5) analyzed social cohesion.

- The demise of social cohesion is linked to immigration in Rotterdam, a situation that polarizes and further weakens the social cohesiveness of the city. Social cohesion is strongly linked to adherence to Dutch norms and values.

(4.7.6) analyzed Islam.

- A view dominates in policy that a clash exists between Islamic values and western ones. Moslems state this clash is not valid, yet policy reflects the

dominant non-immigrant voice which sees Islamic values linked to a demise of social cohesion.

**(4.7.6a)** analyzed Islam and emancipation of women.

- The dominant voice in policy is that Islam and the emancipation of women are incompatible. Thus, Islamic and western values are incompatible or 'clash'.

**(4.7.7)** analyzed assimilation.

- Assimilation into Dutch norms and values is valued in the process of integration, yet policy revealed the confusion surrounding the use of the terms (assimilation/integration) which are complex and vague. Thus, the processes themselves remain complex and vague.

**(4.7.8)** analyzed integration policy.

- Policy sees local control as important but recognizes that such control does not insure successful implementation of policy provisions.

**(4.7.8a)** analyzed integration policy related to sanctions and enforcement.

- Sanctions and enforcement are seen as necessary to the integration process since there is an assumed unwillingness on the part of immigrants to integrate without consequences.

#### 4.9 Education

As discussed in national policy (4.5), it is especially important to understand how 'education' is viewed and valued in policy since this thesis analyzes how *education plays a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values*. Local policy is clear that education is valued in the process of integration, especially for its role in teaching norms and values. Policy #2...*Education is a key factor in the process of 'integration'* (page 42) and further on...*'Educate, educate, educate'* (page 27). Policy #8 states that education is the main vehicle for teaching norms and values...*it is all about education* (page 1).

Policy #9 refers to the Objective of the Municipal Executive. The focus on norms and values is explicit: *standards and values must be part of all integration procedures: One of the objectives of the Executive programme is the broadening of integration procedures by way of specifically-aimed education in standards and values. All integration procedures are intended to contain modules in this area by 2006...* Here, it is unclear what is meant by 'procedures' and equally unclear what is meant by 'specifically-aimed 'education''. Policy continues...*The new courses increasingly focus on awareness of standards and values* (page 11). This reference to the 'new courses' is also confusing, since the government is in the process of dismantling all government sponsored courses, and will rely on private business to publish texts and organize courses, the government only issuing 'guidelines' as to what a course should contain.

The setting for this learning, stated in policy, is not formal but is...*preferably in the city itself, during a visit to an organisation or during contacts with other Rotterdam citizens ...newcomers will be able to...obtain insight in the meaning of the prevailing standards and values in the Netherlands*. Here, the implication is that norms and values involve 'unwritten rules' or 'social rules' which are known implicitly to non-immigrants<sup>114</sup> and involve learning through 'imitation'.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> See 'unwritten' rules in national policy (4.2.3).

<sup>115</sup> See discussion on 'imitation' (2.7.2) and (4.5).



The clarity expressed regarding education's role in the process of integration and in teaching norms and values to adults is not matched by clarity in how this is to be accomplished other than through 'imitation' and 'learning by doing'. Policy #2...*the issue of public education is increasingly very important, but how you conduct that is a real issue* (page 26).

As a digression, it is interesting to note how local policy discusses integration in Rotterdam when referring to immigrant youth. Here, policy is more explicitly looking at formal education in schools. One of the main problems cited is the ethnic makeup of the schools and the problems that arise related to density. Policy #1...*in only a few years, immigrants and their offspring will make up the majority in Rotterdam. Using the terms that are sometimes applied to refer to the concentration of immigrants in neighborhoods and schools, we could say therefore that Rotterdam will be a 'black city'* (page 20). The ethnic makeup of the schools is seen by policy to negatively affect a young person's ability to be fluent in Dutch, thus affecting chances for employment and further affecting social cohesion. Policy #3...*In our opinion, segregation in education has a negative impact on social cohesion in the city and does nothing to help ethnic students improve their language skills. For this reason, we feel that segregation in education should be combated* (page 72). Policy #2...*When one in four people leaves school without a diploma (in Rotterdam) you have a big problem in the new economy, where everybody should have some qualification* (page 32). Here, density<sup>116</sup> is linked to integration, such that segregated, poor neighborhoods and black schools are linked to unsuccessful integration. The reason for including this brief discussion is to note that similar issues arise when formal education relating to young newcomers is mentioned in local policy, issues which the participants mention, (4.12.7) when they reflect on adult newcomers and the problems of density and integration.

The section on education is brief, but as in section 4.5 on national policy, brevity does not correspond to a lack of importance. Rather, brevity points to the fact that there is a

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<sup>116</sup> See discussion on diversity and density (4.7.4).

lack of specifics in local policy as to how 'education' is to teach norms and values to adult newcomers, other than the above mentioned 'go to the city' and the methods of 'imitation' and 'learn by doing'. Other non-specific ways include 'participation' in the community, 'dialogue' and 'involvement' discussed in 4.2.4 and 4.6.4. This lack of specifics is addressed in *Chapter Five-Conclusions*.

A final thought on education for adult newcomers concerns what Policy #2 states may be too many expectations on 'education' regarding integration. Referring to labor markets and education...*they are insufficient to make an integrated society* (page 30).

#### **4.10 Chapter Four - Part One Summary**

*Part One 4.2 – 4.5* analyzed national integration policy while *Part One 4.6 – 4.9* analyzed local integration policy. Both sections analyzed norms and values as they appeared in policy in a general way, and then analyzed them in their particular manifestations. Policy was also analyzed to understand its views on the role of education in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of norms and values. Along the way, the analysis revealed aspects of a norm or value that were contradictory or ironic when put into practice or not practiced at all. Conclusions reached about these contradictions and ironies, and about the role of education in teaching such norms and values to adult newcomers in the integration process are presented in the *Chapter Five - Conclusions*.

## **4.11 Part Two**

### **Analysis of interviews**

The importance of *Part Two-Analysis of Interviews*, is the same as that cited for the analysis of national and local policy in *Part One*. Both parts contribute to an understanding of the thesis question: *how does education play a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values?* The completion of *Part Two* means the completion of the presentation of data, and readies the thesis for *Chapter Five-Conclusions*

The organization of *Chapter Four-Part Two* follows the organization in *Part One* as closely as possible. This includes an analysis of the importance of norms and values, an analysis of particular norms and values, and an analysis of the role of education in relation to integration and norms and values.

#### **4.11.1 Provenance**

In **3.4.1**, descriptive data about the participants in the interviews were presented. In order to comply with the agreement of anonymity guaranteed each participant, these descriptive data give minimal insight into who these participants are, yet give enough description to confirm why this individual was asked to take part in this research. Repeating here what was said in **3.4.1**, the participants included a male politician of high ranking in Rotterdam; two male policy planners working for the city of Rotterdam; four university professors, one male professor currently with Erasmus University and one retired professor from Erasmus University; one male professor currently with University of Amsterdam; one female professor with the University of Leiden, all of whom have acted as integration policy advisors to the government. There were two female policy planners working for the Ministry of Justice in The Hague, their particular expertise on norms and values; and two Ph.D students who are researching Rotterdam and immigration/integration. In the interview analysis, each

participant is identified by a number, for example, *Interview #1*. All transcripts are available for review.<sup>117</sup>

**List of Participants and Identifying Number**

Interview #1	Policy Analyst
Interview #2	Professor, Erasmus University, Government Policy Advisor
Interview #3	Policy Planner, Ministry of Justice, The Hague
Interview #4	Professor, Erasmus University, Government Policy Advisor
Interview #5	Professor, University of Amsterdam
Interview #6	High ranking politician, City of Rotterdam
Interview #7	Policy Planner, Ministry of Justice, The Hague
Interview #8	Professor, University of Leiden, Policy Advisor
Interview #9	Policy Analyst
Interview #10	Ph.D student, University of Amsterdam
Interview #11	Ph.D student, Political Science Institute, University of Münster, Germany.

The analysis of the interviews reveals a varied and interesting range of views from the participants. Sometimes the participants offer an ‘official’ view corresponding to the position they occupy in the local or national government. Sometimes they ignore this official view to offer a personal one. At other times, the participants present a ‘public’ view, a ‘national’ one, or one more specific to the city of Rotterdam.

**4.11.2 Norms and values – importance of**

This section analyzes what the participants said regarding the importance of norms and values in Dutch society. I did not ask the participants to define what they thought

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<sup>117</sup> Appendix VIII includes a sample interview in order to demonstrate ‘traceability’, the accuracy of the quote and its interpretation.

a 'norm' or a 'value' was, since I was not searching for definitions of the words themselves. As is clear from the following analysis, participants agreed that 'norms and values' are important in Dutch society, especially in relation to the issue of 'integration'.

*Interview #8...This focus on norms and values emerged as early as 1992. A National Minorities Debate resolved that Migrant groups must adopt the central values of Dutch society.*

*Interview #9...The Dutch government thinks it's very important that Dutch norms and values should be included in the integration programs.*

*Interview #1...Dutch standards and values are much more prominent in the new integration policy. 'Orientation' is one of the parts of the integration course, and in that part, standards and values should be taught.*

*Interview #4...In order to be a true society, to function as a country, you need to...share certain values, have certain points of identification in common; that is what the debate is about right now.*

The importance of 'norms and values' is also confirmed by a survey conducted by The Ministry of Justice in the Hague, asking native Dutch people what they thought were the ten most important topics an adult 'newcomer' needed to know about Dutch society. The answer topping the list was 'normen and waarden', '*norms and values*' (Interview #3). The importance of norms and values is also acknowledged by Interview #9...*the Prime Minister himself started the discussion about values and norm.*

*Interview #7 said...the present Prime Minister is known as 'Mr. Norms and Values'.*

#### **4.11.3 Norms and values - defined**

In 4.11.2 above, the participants established the 'importance' of Dutch norms and values in relation to the integration process. This section analyzes the participants' responses as to how Dutch norms and values are defined. The majority of the responses indicate that a precise definition is difficult.

Interview #1...*There's a lot of talking, a lot of vague terms; always very difficult to make it more concrete. They (the government) are thinking how to give it some form. It's very difficult of course...because values and standards are very abstract. Different groups have different opinions about it.*

Interview #6...*there is a Christian Democrat national government and they are very big on standards and values, but they have trouble nailing it down.*

Interview #5 explained why defining norms and values is not easy. *It was always so self-evident, what we were, our progressive view, our tolerant view. It doesn't force people to make more explicit what Dutch norms and values were.*

Interview #6... *Things in this country were internalized, taken for granted and not explicit. Our standards and values, we were not able to list them to ourselves, let alone explain them to other people, 'oh, this is the way we do things around here'!*

Some of the participants, however, attempted definitions. Interview #9...*Sociologists and writers...they've tried to define what are the core values of Dutch culture that really should be taught and promoted. Mostly people answer that these are the basic values of Christianity, modernism and liberalism....*

Interview #9 con't...*Our government, our city government (Rotterdam) wants to make sure that the liberal or democratic values that have been developed in this country for the past five hundred years be really well promoted, because then people know what this country is like, what are the freedoms.*

Interview #1...*They (government) give very general values...equality of men and women, division between state and religion, quite general.*

Interview #2... *basic things that must be adhered to: ... separation of church and state, discrimination is not allowed by the government or by citizens among each other, emancipation of women, individualization.*

A commonality the participants present is the connection between Dutch norms and values and larger constructs such as liberalism, modernism and democracy. It is interesting that one of the interviewees referred to 'Christian' values in the same list

as modernism and liberalism. All participants recognize that 'values' are defined in a general and vague manner although division between church and state, and equality of the sexes were specifically stated.

Attempting to overcome this unsatisfactory 'generality' of defining norms and values, Interview #4 states that 'rules' are more important than values. *The receiving side has to make clear which rules, rather than values...values are so abstract...which rules cannot be negotiated, have to be observed under all circumstances.* Yet, further in the interview, this participant concludes that values are indeed important...*it's important that people of Muslim or other immigrant origin...familiarize themselves as quickly as possible with the typical sort of western enlightenment 'values' to avoid developments...which are anti-democratic and authoritarian.* Such a statement defines Dutch values by stating what they are not - anti-democratic and authoritarian - and highlights Muslim values as those which stand in opposition to Dutch values.

Interview #5 said that Dutch norms and values could be understood by examining the city wide debates organized by Rotterdam's city council in 2005. *It (the debates) is about women and gays; separation of church and state; (Muslims) having their own organizations and not wanting to mix; things like that. So, taking on those things, implicitly or explicitly, tell us what are Dutch standards. We are 'whatever'.* Here the participant is, as Interview #4 above, expressing dissatisfaction with the vagueness and generality of Dutch norms and values, and once again, telling us that Dutch norms and values are clarified through contrast to a perceived 'Muslim' value system.

Thus, Dutch norms and values are recognized by the participants as vague and not easily defined. However, definitions are linked to concepts of liberalism, democracy, modernism, and Christianity. Concrete examples of Dutch norms and values, such as separation of church and state, and equality of the sexes, are arrived at, in part, by contrasting perceived Muslim values with Dutch values.

#### **4.11.4 Norms and values - impact of debate on society**

The difficulty in defining Dutch norms and values (4.11.3) has an effect on both immigrant and non-immigrant groups. Immigrant groups feel frustrated at being targeted by the debate on norms and values.

Interview #9... *I have attended many conferences where there were debates that immigrants should learn Dutch norms and values...immigrants ask, okay, show us which they are, and then we will learn them, and if they are not there, then please stop this discussion!*

Interview #2 notes that students who were born in Holland of immigrant parents also feel the strain of the norms and values debate. They...*are actually insulted by everything that is going on.*

The difficulty in clearly defining Dutch norms and values also frustrates the non-immigrant population, according to the participants. The result has been a 'search' to articulate what Dutch values are. Interview #2... *All of these things (values and norms) are so important. We took it more or less for granted. And we can't take it for granted, and that is a positive thing. Ten years ago, nobody talked about the constitution, nobody had heard of it; even my colleagues didn't know what the hell the constitution was; now all of a sudden...there are basic values there that you have to assimilate to.*

Defining norms and values has always involved 'clashes'. Interview #4... *There have always been principles in our liberal democracies that clash...freedom of expression and freedom of religion...there are so many contradictory things. But clashes are accentuated when groups are perceived to adhere to different value systems. The 'clash'...becomes more acute when faced with people of a non-western background. All sorts of strange people coming here...it makes people scared. The result is a search for identity. Then, you get a sort of natural reaction, a search for self, who are 'we'? Some people tend to fall back on classical values, like the 'nation', like 'religion'.*



Renewed interest in defining Dutch norms and values is not due only to 'differences' according to Interview #9...*Paul Scheffer*<sup>118</sup>...states the integration debate is slowly coinciding with the more general debate in Dutch politics. It is the feeling that we have lost some social order. Scheffer said the integration policy is now focusing on the norms and values that should be adopted, that the immigrants should learn, but that Dutch citizens have the same problem. What he is saying is that the integration debate is not an autonomous debate but it is part of a more general debate in Dutch culture, and we have to really find what the core of our culture is, our society.

Differences are what clarifies a country's norms and values, according to Interview #5...*Research shows that we know very clearly, better than ever, what we stand for. That is not the problem. The moment you feel threatened or feel difference with other people, you become aware of who you are. And that is what is going on. Yet, being open to differences is the mark of a modern society. Interview #2... There is a lot of space in modern societies, open societies...for ethnic cultures and ethnic values and norms. Being 'open' has its limits though, according to the same participant...although a person can have his/her own values and standards, some of them are unacceptable; you have to accept that if you don't accept (ours), leave the country...go back.*

In these cases, as participants discuss the frustrations felt by both immigrant and non-immigrant groups regarding the debate on norms and values, they reflect theories and findings about how groups define themselves in relation to the 'other' (Barth, 1969). They also struggle to define a dominant 'national' culture, which may not exist (Favell, 2003; Parekh, 2000; Bauböck, 2002). Additionally, they reflect the notion that a strong nation-state embodies a common culture (Raz, 1998).

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<sup>118</sup> Paul Scheffer wrote an essay in the newspaper called the Multicultural Drama (2000).

#### 4.11.5 Norms and values - integration

In 4.11.4, the participants discussed the impact that different value systems have on Dutch society, motivating native Dutch people towards discovery of their core values. In this section, the participants' views about 'integration' and its relationship to norms and values are analyzed.

Establishing the meaning of 'integration' seems essential if one is to understand how education plays a role in helping newcomers '*integrate*' through the teaching of Dutch norms and values. However, in much the same way that it was problematic for the participants to determine what Dutch norms and values are, so too was it difficult for them to determine the meaning of 'integration', even though 'integration' policy has become so important these past years. Interview #11...*There have been few efforts to pin down what the term 'integration' actually means...including answers to ideological questions about whether or not, when and how, complete integration can be achieved.* Interview #10 thinks that 'integration' is so important because European countries only recently acknowledged their status as 'countries of immigration'. Thus...*Integration into a national society can be held up as a goal that can be achieved if the proper policies are pursued.*

Several participants attempted to define integration. Interview #2...*Integration is that you fit into the society and that you assimilate to the basic values and norms laid down in the constitution and the different laws.* Interview #2 continued, connecting 'integration' with 'entrepreneurship'. Perhaps his meaning was more generally one of 'economic' integration. ...*ethnic entrepreneurship is moving up rapidly, it takes off. Entrepreneurship in shops here in Rotterdam, quite successful. That's integration.*

Other participants did not define integration, but discussed the popular idea that successful integration depends on limiting the number of new immigrants, as concerns the city of Rotterdam. Interview #1 joked...*They want a fence around the city. Because immigrants are a greater group, they can't handle the problems anymore. The capacity in the big cities has been reached, to integrate immigrants.*

Interview #6 explained that there are already too many immigrants in the city who *'are now not on the 'field'*, perhaps meaning that the immigrants have not made the effort to join the 'team', giving integration a 'sport' metaphor. Interview #5 cautioned that this push to integrate newcomers should not be misinterpreted...*You should not understand what happens in the Netherlands nowadays, and in Rotterdam in particular, only as 'xenophobic', as that we want to have the people out. No, we want to integrate them, and therefore, there shouldn't come anymore. And therefore, we needed this idea of integration.*

The definitions arrived at by the participants reflect what the literature analysis revealed, that defining integration is difficult and results in vague and elusive definitions (2.3 and 2.3.1). Several of the participants also reflect what seems to be increasingly accepted, that policy intent on integrating is more likely intent on curtailing immigration (Bacon, 2004).

## **Summary**

Section 4.11.2 – 4.11.5 analyzed the participants views on norms and values. There was agreement that norms and values are important, especially in relation to integration, even though it was not clear how to define Dutch norms and values, other than that they are based on Christian, modern, and liberal principles, and are found in the constitution. Immigrants feel frustrated by this lack of clarity, and by the message to learn these norms and values or 'leave'. The participants had difficulty defining 'integration', yet most agreed that accepting Dutch norms and values was an integral part of being 'integrated' and that limiting immigration was an important step in order to further the integration process.

#### 4.12 Dutch norms and values

Section 4.11 analyzes the views participants have of specific Dutch norms and values. It is worth repeating once again (4.3) that a norm or value may be recognized as important by the majority in Dutch society, but the way it is practiced differs in degrees from the popular conception of how it should be practiced. Second, although a norm and value is acknowledged as important, certain types of policy may undermine its practice. Third, some of the norms and values analyzed are not well-recognized as such, are even arguably 'not' considered a 'norm or value'.

##### 4.12.1 Separation of Church and State

*Separation of church and state* is considered a core Dutch value as was seen in 4.11.3. This section confirms its importance, and presents contradictions in its practice as seen by the participants. Additionally, 'freedom of religion' and 'secularization' are analyzed since these topics were mentioned by the participants within the church and state context.

The importance of 'the separation of church and state' was mentioned by several of the interviewees. Interview #1 states that the government defines 'values' in *very general* terms, such as *the division between state and religion*. Interview #2...*we want the separation of church and state*. He uses the pronoun 'we' in a powerful sense, linked to *Dutch society* and its *constitutions and laws*, referred to immediately beforehand.

However, several participants noted that 'separation' is not clear-cut since the very foundation of Dutch society is based on Christian principles. Interview #9...*when Dutch sociologists and writers try to define what are the core values of Dutch culture that should really be taught and promoted, mostly people answer that these are the basic values of Christianity*.

Interview #6 explained how a Christian foundation might be a contradiction for newcomers who are told that *separation of church and state* is highly valued in Dutch

society. *There is a fantastic miscommunication about the Dutch value of separation of church and state. I think we are having that (fantastic miscommunication) at this moment. I think it's a very difficult subject to, I don't know how to explain it, when we say our state is non-religious, that's for us rather clear, because we like to see it that way. Holland is a neutral state, that's what we think. You can be protestant or non-religious, catholic and Muslim. However, the Muslims think this society is very Christian, very religious. And everything they see happening here from the government, they see it as a Christian thing, not as a neutral thing. The basics are Christian.* Further in the interview, he states that Holland is a Christian country but that this does not exclude other religions...*Islam in a Christian country is very much possible.*

The principle of church and state separation figures into the relationship between government and religious institutions. Interview #4...*Should we get in touch with Muslim organizations? ('we' representing 'government')...mosque organizations? Because after all, they are the ones who are, sort of, well, they serve more than any other organization as points for the Muslim migrants, but at the same time, you have the separation of church and state...by getting in touch, by doing so, you confirm them in their beliefs ('no' separation of church and state).* A contradiction, he admits. ...*yet on the other hand, we do have Catholic hospitals and Christian old homes, schools and so on (government subsidized).*

#### **4.12.1a The Secular Society and Freedom of Religion**

In the context of church and state separation, several participants referred to Holland as a 'secularized' society. Interview #4 connected 'secularized' and 'separation'...*it is a secularized country (Holland) and you cannot speak to Mosque organizations.* Hard won secularization is seen as being challenged by immigration according to Interview #2...*Holland has Protestants and Catholics...we also have Humanists and atheists, very much against religion. Now, all that modernized, neutralized kind of secularization took off - even the atheists weren't too atheist anymore - and then all*

*of a sudden, we get this 'Islam' coming up with mosques, the desire to have Islamic schools, to pillarize!*

'To pillarize' refers to the way Dutch society was organized in the past.<sup>119</sup> Different religious, political and cultural groups had their own schools, hospitals, even media, while representatives from these various '*pillars*', as these strongly homogenized groups were called, met and negotiated for the purpose of carrying out the business of the nation. Interview #11 said the values of *consensus and tolerance* were emphasized in the 'Verzuilling' or pillarized society. Pillarization facilitated Holland's growth into a secularized, emancipated society. Interview #2...*Pillarization worked perfectly for the emancipation. Then around the 1960's, emancipation was done. So, you see that the fanaticism, the fundamentalism goes out of it, evaporates; ideologically, you get de-pillarization.* However, the participant sees Islam as a threat to secularization, and 'education' as the vehicle through which this threat spreads. *And then all of a sudden, you get these Islam people coming in, starting their primary schools, university, it always starts in education.* The participant is recognizing that 'education' is how norms and values are taught, be they Dutch or 'Islamic'. The participant is using 'education' in the formal sense but as was seen in the analysis of national and local policy, this 'formal' sense is not well-defined or articulated.

The discussion on the separation of church and state, and secularization, also highlighted *freedom of religion* as highly valued in Dutch society. Again, Islam is seen as a threat to this cherished value. Interview #6 states that what is important is '*respecting all religions or no religion*'. *You have to respect other people's religions, or if they are not religious, then you have to respect that as well. There is nothing like this is a better religion than the other, or better than no religion at all.* Later, he said...*Islam is just a religion. That's the way we see it...but it's not the way a lot of Muslims see it.* The participant is saying that Islam is not respectful of other religions

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<sup>119</sup> See **2.4.4a** for discussion on pillarization.

or no religion, while implying that freedom of religion (or no religion) is a cherished value in the Netherlands.

Thus, while 'separation of church and state' was cherished as a Dutch value, the participants understood how immigrants might see the Netherlands as a 'Christian' country. The government struggles with the principle of separation of church and state in its attempts to work with Islamic organizations which are 'religious' in nature, even though the government supports religiously affiliated schools and other institutions. Islam is seen as challenging the principles of separation of church and state and 'freedom of religion'. Both are highly valued in a country that cherishes secularization, a condition that developed over the years from a religious pillarized past.

#### **4.12.2 Freedom of Speech**

Another core Dutch value is 'freedom of speech', guaranteed by Article 7 in the constitution. Traditionally, in the Netherlands, 'freedom of speech' has included an aspect of 'tolerance' which functioned to limit what one could criticise in public about an individual or group's lifestyle. Several participants noted that such tolerance is undergoing a 'shift' in Holland, drastically affecting the previous boundaries of freedom of speech. Interview #9 calls this a *discursive shift*. *There is another change in the integration field that has happened over the past three or four years. It has been described as a change in the discursive side of integration policy.* Interview #11 labels it the '*new realism*' in which the discourse *leans against the taboos of political correctness*.

In the context of freedom of speech, Pim Fortuyn<sup>120</sup> was frequently mentioned as the first person to say publicly what many Dutch were thinking privately regarding immigration. Interview #9...*due to the role of some politicians, for instance Pim Fortuyn, there is a change in the atmosphere, in the content of discussions and debate. That's why I call it the discursive effect of this change. People say there*

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<sup>120</sup> See footnote 7 (page 17) for discussion on Pim Fortuyn.

*should be nothing concealed; we should talk about everything; we should not consider any subjects as taboos. On the contrary, it is good to change taboos, and to talk about anything that comes to your mind.*

Interview #9 continued... *Most of the taboo breaking debates are focusing on issues relating to Islam. The effect is that many Muslims feel they have to defend themselves. Let's say it is a process of polarization. Delicate ideological issues are being discussed. So many Muslims...fear that this is not a free debate; they are feeling accused. In the city (Rotterdam), many immigrants are, let's say, reluctant, waiting a little bit, when will it be over, and there are very few that are sharp enough to enter this arena.*

What is being expressed here by the participants is a recognition that the traditional Dutch value of 'toleration' is undergoing a shift. 'Taboo breaking debates' and politically incorrect speech are an exercise in freedom of speech which, from a Muslim perspective, threatens and intimidates. It is a valued Dutch freedom, seemingly available only to the majority segment of the population.

One participant, an important public official in Rotterdam, is proud to publicly challenge Muslims. Interview #6 told a story on himself in which he joked to a local newspaper reporter about 'separation of church and state'. He referred to a Dutch joke where the reverend says to the mayor, 'You keep them poor and I keep them dumb'. He added...*'we' have something like that with the Imams. The expected furore resulted, which the participant said was due, in part, to the relationship (between the city of Rotterdam and Muslim leaders) going on for fifteen years, and never talking about a few things, bad things. When you start doing that, it is difficult...if I only take the nice position, the understanding position, then they (the Muslim leaders) won't come here (to City Hall). So, I say nice things, but I also say a bit of challenging things to get people to notice that something is changing in this society.*



To interview #5, this freedom to say 'challenging things' signals a serious situation...*We don't necessarily believe ourselves in the clash of civilizations, but it becomes dominant in the discourse.*

Thus, according to the participants, 'freedom of speech' is a core Dutch value traditionally limited by 'tolerance'. The boundaries defined by tolerance are shifting to include discourse directed against immigrants and particularly Muslims. This shift is having a polarizing effect on Dutch society.

#### **4.12.3 Employment**

'Work' or 'getting a job' is highly valued in Dutch society as seen by the inclusion of Article 19 in the Constitution stating one has the right to work and the right to free choice in one's work. The frequency with which 'work' was mentioned by the participants in relation to integration also demonstrated its high value in Dutch society. Interview #4... *Everyone sees getting a job, participating in the labour market, as the royal way towards integration.*

Interview #4... *The labour market can serve as a 'springboard' for integration.*

Interview #1...*The objective of the government (in policy) is that people get jobs.*

Interview #8... *Work, work, work' has become the assignment for the immigrants.*

Interview #6...*What we say here (in Rotterdam) is, we try to make it very simple, we say learn the language, get a job.*

Work is also seen as an important step in integration from the point of view of most immigrants. Interview #3 describes a survey conducted by The Ministry of Justice in The Hague which asked immigrants (already settled in Holland) *what they thought were the ten most important topics a newcomer needed to learn about Dutch society. The number one answer among immigrants was 'work'.*

The view that 'getting a job' is 'the royal road to integration' is wide-spread, but getting that job is not so easily accomplished. The participants pointed to the structural transformation the Dutch economy is undergoing, from a traditionally

industrial to an information and service economy. Interview #4...*In Rotterdam, the harbour was still employing many people, but now, all this has been automated, so there is very little work actually. Here, you need to be so well-skilled as a newly arriving person.*

Interview #6...*unemployment is rising, and that is a problem.*

Even if there were more low-skilled jobs available, interview #8 questioned whether such jobs provide the necessary elements that promote integration. *The belief in waged labour as the main integrative mechanism can be considered a fallacy, especially when immigrants must compete amongst each other for low paid temporary jobs that have little prospect of promotion or tenure...one must doubt the integrative results of this kind of participation.*

Even when work is available, one participant points to discriminatory practices with regard to recruitment and selection. Interview #8...*ten years of officially declared dedication to the goal of equitable representation of ethnic minorities among the Dutch workforce have demonstrated that trade, industry and government organisations are not spontaneously inclined to create trainee and work experience posts, let alone jobs for these groups.*

In spite of such problems, Rotterdam has established a traineeship program. Interview #9...*A newcomer will have about ten days, twenty-four sessions as a trainee in a company, to practice the language and to mix with other people to see what working is like in this company...how do people behave.* The city pays for this traineeship, he explained, *and our worry at the moment is that if the content of the exam (the final integration exam) will not include this traineeship, then it will be worthless. So now we are lobbying to have it in the exam.*<sup>121</sup>

The participants above acknowledge that having a job is an important part of the integration process, and are aware that economic restructuring and discrimination

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<sup>121</sup> At the time of this writing, the issue was not resolved.

play their part in keeping immigrants unemployed. However, the bottom line is that when immigrants are unemployed, they are regarded negatively in Dutch society. Interview #4...*There is an impression...that these people are too lazy to work or don't want to work for some other reason.* The sentiment expressed here is that immigrants do not act responsibly nor in an autonomous manner to care for themselves. If immigrants had the right kind of attitude, they would be employed. This sentiment carries over to the traineeship program, where it is assumed that since the traineeship is not

#### **4.12.4 The welfare state**

The 'welfare state' is highly valued by Dutch society as seen by its inclusion in the constitution, Article 20, where it is stated that there is a right to receive aid from the authorities when one cannot care for oneself. The discussion by the participants showed how this traditionally valued system is undergoing change due to several factors, immigration being one of the major ones.

One of the primary tasks of integration policy, according to Interview #9, is to promote 'participation' among newcomers, which means ensuring employment so that one stays off welfare. *We are talking about real poverty issues. The city (Rotterdam) should really take care of minority groups, to make sure they find a job, learn Dutch. These policies are always aimed at promoting participation. People have to find a job or do some additional training.* According to Interview #6, participation in Dutch society is not complicated...*what is difficult to understand? That you should have a job...and not an unemployment benefit?*

Yet the perception is strong that most immigrants are on welfare and not participating in society. Interview #6 continues. In Rotterdam...*the bottom half was going down instead of going up with the upper half. That's why we have a welfare state, but the increasing lower classes, that's mainly from immigrants, it's not the Dutch population.*

Not all participants bought into the opinion that immigrants don't work and therefore take advantage of welfare. Interview #4 stated that...*reliance on social security is relatively high...but it is a bit of a hype at this moment, the ideas that all these people who come never find work, and that's simply not true.*

Other participants argued that the welfare system is under pressure from the non-immigrant population as well as the immigrant. Interview #2... *the much larger problem is people who don't want to work, live on the dole, and want early retirement...we can't have early retirement, we can't pay it anymore...* Interview #6...*We have in Holland a large unemployment, a large disabled benefits, a hidden unemployment. When people get old, they say, well, they are not strong enough anymore to do that work, so they prefer to get an unemployment for physical handicap. That's a large number - we are one of the highest in Western Europe.* Both participants here acknowledge that welfare is being used for reasons other than not being able to find a job; rather it is being used because one is unable to work for personal or physical reasons and/or because one simply desires not to work.

The concern of the participants regarding the way the welfare system is used by both immigrants and non-immigrants was connected to a larger ideological change happening in Holland as Interview #9 noted...*the 60's and 70's generation were raised with the idea that we have a very good welfare state, and then in the 90's, there came this new understanding that... it's not possible anymore to be on welfare for years and years without doing anything at all. This is a change (in ideology)...in what individuals can expect from the state, and what is expected of people who are benefiting from the welfare state.* Here the participant alludes to the rise of neo-liberal political philosophy which has been instrumental in the restructuring and dismantling of the welfare state, and which discourages the idea that welfare is an alternative to employment.

This change in ideology has especially impacted immigrants. Interview #9...*it's much harder today...the shift towards rights and obligations in Dutch social benefits, and*

*the same ideology is incorporated in the integration programs. Europe's poor, according to interview #10...are frequently recent immigrants. This realization, according to interview #5...created a moral panic in Rotterdam when they discovered that by 2017, there would be a majority of migrants in the city. Then they say, what are migrants? And the answer was that 'migrants' equals being poor, being lowly educated. Here, the participants acknowledge the shift in philosophy towards newcomers, which makes 'being integrated' dependent upon having a job, and that being an immigrant means being poor.*

Thus, the participants are aware that welfare is an issue affecting both immigrant and non-immigrants in Dutch society. The focus on being employed and off of welfare is linked to the idea of immigrants being 'integrated'. Such links between employment and 'being integrated' are not applied to the non-immigrant population.

#### **4.12.5 Self-sufficiency, autonomy and individualism**

Interview #10 above said *Europe's poor are often recent immigrants. As a result...governments hold up integration as a goal achieved by proper policies. Therefore, programmes are designed to promote feelings of responsibility in the unemployed.* According to the participants, these feelings of responsibility are promoted via policy as *self-sufficiency, autonomy and individualization*. Interview #1 speaks of 'self-sufficiency', *selvheggzomhei*, in the same breathe as 'individual responsibility', discussing the goals of the Dutch government...*now responsibility is much more in individual terms...they (the immigrants) have to do it (integrate) themselves.* Interview #4...*it is commonly accepted that people should learn the language, but now the debate is whose responsibility is it? The government argues it is the migrants own responsibility that they learn...* This shift in responsibility emerged, according to interview #11...*at a moment when integration was supposed to have failed... The 'failure' has been partly attributed to states and governments that came to be held responsible for the integration of immigrants.*<sup>122</sup> What the participants reflect, once again, is the belief by government and the public that

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<sup>122</sup> See discussion on autonomy **2.4.4**

successful integration depends primarily on an immigrant having a proper attitude and acting in a certain way, in this case, acting in an autonomous manner.

According to Interview #1, the Dutch government promotes the values of 'self-sufficiency', 'autonomy' and 'individualization' in policy by requiring that immigrants be at a certain level of language proficiency and attain a level of knowledge about Dutch society while still in their country of origin. Once this is achieved, and if accepted as an immigrant, studies continue in Holland until a higher level of language fluency and expertise in Dutch culture is arrived at, measured by an integration exam. These provisions are seen as promoting the qualities of 'self-sufficiency', 'autonomy' and individual responsibility since *the (Dutch) government says they don't have to be involved in it* (setting up courses). It is the *immigrants own responsibility, they have to do it. The responsibility is much more in individual terms...they have to pay for the courses themselves*. Here the participant is linking acting 'responsibly' with the financial resources to do so. Since Europe's poor are often recent immigrants (Interview #10 above), having to pay one's own way to 'integrate' is one way of addressing the poverty issue.

However, financial resources were not the main concern of Interview #1. This participant questioned the focus on autonomy and self-sufficiency in policy since...*modern, liberal ideals of the autonomous life can conflict with the ideals of more traditional communities from third world countries*.<sup>123</sup> Interviews #7 and #10 were also concerned about this conflict, and pointed out the irony that as 'individualism' gains prominence in integration policies, the Dutch cabinet promotes policies to encourage the native Dutch to become more 'communal'. *The government is developing programs such as 'Opzoomer en stad edukator' or 'street etiquette'; more the idea that you should know each other; programs meant to prevent undesirable behaviour*. Interview #10 mentions that such programs may be difficult to enact, as the 'native' Dutch do not hold in high regard the values of *trust* and *bonding* within communities.

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<sup>123</sup> See discussion **2.4.4** on conflict between autonomous and collectivist cultures.

Thus, the participants explain the government's stance that integration policy promotes the values of self-sufficiency, autonomy, and individualisation by making immigrants entirely responsible for the successful completion of the integration exams. The connection is that an 'integrated' person is one who incorporates these values. Yet, while integration policy promotes 'autonomous behaviour' on the part of immigrants, the Dutch government is realising that the communal values prevalent among many immigrant groups are necessary for the well-functioning of a socially cohesive society, values which are found to be lacking among Dutch natives. The government is promoting some 'street etiquette' programs to foster more communal activity, but does not link these programs with being 'integrated'. The participants are reflecting that 'autonomy' is more important in defining an integrated person, even if 'communal' values are important for a socially cohesive society.

#### **4.12.6 Sanctions and enforcements**

*Sanctions and enforcement* play an important role in the new integration policy, as explained by interview #8...*Settlement practices...are conceived under the signs of discipline, obligations and sanctions*. Several participants noted that both *sanctions* and *enforcement* are gaining popularity in Holland, a country widely known in the past for its disregard of 'enforcement'. It may be stretching it to say that policy provisions regarding sanctions and enforcement are becoming accepted values, yet the emphasis on these provisions caused several of the participants to consider them as such.

Both in the country of origin and in the Netherlands, sanctions (in the form of penalties and fines) apply if one does not reach a certain level in the integration exam. Interview #4...*if you haven't passed the exam (integration) after five years, you will be fined... your residence permit can never become permanent.*<sup>124</sup>

Interview #6...*You can come here, but these are the demands 'we' put on you, and if you don't do that, we will take those sanctions, or even ask you to leave...everybody*

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<sup>124</sup> See Appendix V for integration exam regulations and sanctions.

*has potential and you should develop it, or take the consequences; if you don't...that's a standard or a value. There is an increase in people who are not used to seeing it the way this society sees it, and that is the basic value, for the success this society has.*

Interview #6 above holds a top position in the Rotterdam city government, and thus expresses, not only a personal, but an 'official' view. Such a view is what Interview #5 labels 'penal'. *There is a general penal development in many cities. There is this 'moral offensive' in the direction of the migrants.*

Successful implementation of the integration policy, therefore, relies on the enforcement of sanctions. But some participants were sceptical about such enforcement. Interview #2...*Who has the money to pay for these expensive courses? It's privatized. So, lots of them (immigrants), certainly the older people, won't do it. So, what are you going to do? Go from door to door? Force them? Control them? You can't enforce it, so they will find ways. It makes it (the policy) a joke, and that is extremely dangerous...the legitimacy of politics, the legitimacy of the rule of law. And that is what worries me, and nobody talks about it.*

Several of the participants commented on the irony that as popular as sanctions and enforcement are becoming in integration policy, many native Dutch are uncomfortable with sanctions and enforcements for themselves.

Interview #7...*The Dutch have a disdain for complying with the law. They are shocked when they go to a country like the US where everyone is obeying the law. Laws here are often not enforced.*

Interview #2 told a story to highlight this point. The participant described a campaign in Rotterdam to make owners leash their dogs in the park and clean up the droppings. *Week after week, police leaflets, this is the final warning, don't do this and we will fine you. Then, the police disappeared. Never saw them again. The law is a joke! And that is dangerous...dangerous for the legitimacy of the system. Don't come up with these laws and statements...if you know you can't enforce it!*



The participants acknowledge that sanctions and enforcement are an integral part of the new integration policy, even taking on the status of a 'value'. But because the Dutch government and public are known to flaunt laws and disregard 'enforcement', the 'value' of enforcement appears to be related solely to immigrants and integration, making it unlikely that enforcements and sanctions are Dutch values. There is a fear reflected here that however valued enforcement and sanctions might be for the process of integration, the provisions might turn out to be 'unenforceable', making the system a 'joke'. Not enforcing laws or enforcing laws for only one segment of society is a potentially polarizing act. As one participant recognized, lack of enforcement or unequal enforcement 'is dangerous for the legitimacy of the system'.

#### **4.12.7 Diversity**

The participants did not comment on 'diversity' as valued nationally or locally. Rather, they discussed diversity as a 'given' and from which many societal problems arose. Several participants commented that the government's position as valuing 'diversity'<sup>125</sup> was not always clear since policy impacting immigrants promoted the opposite of a 'diverse' society.

In this section, I quote at length from interview #5 who is concerned with the 'contradictions' he sees in the Rotterdam city government's stand on 'diversity'. *I think Rotterdam is rather ambiguous about differences in the city. They all talk the language of 'gemengde stad' (mixed city) and 'ongedeelde stad' (the undivided city). So they have this idea that it is wonderful to have many different people in the city. I mean everybody agrees on that, from the left-wing to the right. This idea of mixed cities is very popular. But, he continued, I think, you don't see any of that! One problem being the resistance to accepting certain types of 'diverse' neighbourhoods. The trouble is, to what extent do you accept multi-ethnic neighbourhoods? The whole idea of 'mixture' is against segregation, and therefore, in the Dutch debate,*

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<sup>125</sup> See analysis in *Chapter Four-Part One*, national policy (4.3.5) and local policy (4.7.4) and the stated commitment to a diverse society.

*segregation is the ultimate problem. 'Concentration' is now problematized, and therefore, mixing, mixing, mixing is the only thing that counts. He concluded that...They talk the language of diversity and mixing, and at the same time, they say that the city being mixed is problematic! Because in those neighbourhoods that are the most mixed, they are perceived as the most problematic!* This participant is bringing out the contradictions in the official/public discourse that says diversity is a good thing for the city, but at the same time, 'diversity' is not 'harmonious' and is therefore problematic.

Later in the interview, Interview #5 stressed that...*the problem is not the mixity but the fact that in socio-economic terms, all are rather homogeneous poor*, referring to what was discussed in (4.12.4) about 'immigrants being mostly poor'. The city government of Rotterdam, he continued, is pursuing a policy in which *they want to make those neighbourhoods even more mixed. For them, they say white people, though they don't say 'white' people, they say middle income, middle class. The middle class is extremely popular now. They say this neighbourhood is already extremely heterogeneous, and we make it even more heterogeneous, and that will solve the problems.* Thus, what emerges here is that 'diversity' with the face of 'poverty' is feared and unacceptable. It is not clear if 'diversity' would be accepted if it didn't have the face of poverty, if it were instead middle-class but still 'non-white'.

Interview #5 continued...*That's what's happening in Rotterdam, and partly worrying me, that the Rotterdam government clearly shows, more and more, that they don't like the people who live in their city. Which is quite special for a government to do...really disqualifying to all the people who are living in the city.* This participant later remarked, *why do we expect now that people should be saved by outsiders coming in to the city? Why not investing in the people who are there?* What the participant is questioning is how a housing policy that focuses resources on bringing the white middle class into the city helps diverse immigrant groups 'integrate'. For Interview #5, there is no logical connection.

Sharing the participant's view above is interview #10. There will be...*no more social housing* to be built in Rotterdam. *Now, only privately owned dwellings for middle-and higher income households are to be produced. Rotterdam has demolished more houses than any other municipality and is the only city where the housing stock has declined. Rotterdam is currently negotiating with several of its neighbouring municipalities about a possible channelling of marginalized groups to their jurisdictions.* Here, the participant clearly states that the housing policy is not connected to improving the diversity of the city or helping immigrants 'integrate'; the plan is, in fact, to shift some of the problem of 'integration' to other municipalities.

Interview #6, a top official of the Rotterdam city government, justifies the housing policy based on the idea that the city needs to be 'beautified' especially in those areas where the 'poor' reside. *Rotterdam...being the city with the cheapest and least attractive housing stock of all the big cities in Holland...also very big areas of only cheap housing. That's because in the war, lots has been destroyed, and was built back for labourers; labourers now earn a lot more money and they prefer to live somewhere else. So, you have a relatively high number of unemployed people living in those houses. That creates very unattractive areas.* This participant seems to assume that beautification of an area relates to a decrease in levels of poverty. Yet other than 'channelling the poor to other municipalities' as was mentioned above, there is no mention of where the poor will live once the new housing is built or how such beautification helps reduce poverty.

Thus, although the participants saw 'diversity' as 'valued', several argued that Rotterdam's housing policy is intent on re-aligning the diversity that exists in various neighbourhoods. Such a policy focuses resources on the promotion of 'diversity' which is white and middle class, and does not focus resources on the diversity as it now exists, which is overwhelmingly poor and immigrant. Again, to say that the problem of diversity is 'poverty' rather than 'mixing' is not clear, since as questioned above, it is not clear if 'diversity' would be promoted if the 'mix' was diverse and middle-class but non-white.

The analysis of 'diversity' by the participants resulted in different data from what national policy revealed in *Part One*. Diversity as discussed by the participants was in relation to segregated neighborhoods and 'housing' policies in Rotterdam. 'Diversity' in local policy discussed the implementation of a housing policy designed to attract middle and upper income 'white' buyers into the city of Rotterdam. Thus, on the local level, in policy and the participants, diversity was seen in concrete terms relating to housing and density, whereas in national policy, the discussion was 'abstract', discussing in general terms how diversity is valued in modern societies.

#### 4.12.8 Progressive Society

Holland is known the world over for the progressive, tolerant attitude of its people and its policies. The progressive nature of the society relies on the 'toleration' that members show for one another's life style<sup>126</sup>, which is not to say that one 'agrees' with that lifestyle choice. For example, Interview #4 explains...*it's only quite recently, this acceptance of homosexuality. There are still large segments of the population that don't accept it. Of course, there is public tolerance that it should be accepted.* It is, then, bewildering to many Dutch, according to some of the participants, that a strong reaction is occurring against immigration and newcomers, especially towards Muslims, in a country that holds to this idea of 'public tolerance'. Interview #5...*We are a progressive country and when this starts to happen, people have a hard time understanding themselves, that there is such a reaction. They feel threatened by the more conservative ideas of a part of the Muslim.*

Interview #5 talked at length about this issue. *Here, some of my left-wing friends are so pessimistic because they say, you see, it's all going to the right; it's an enormous conservatism coming out of the Netherlands.* He explained that in the Netherlands, *the right wing parties, nowadays, have more or less the same liberal ideas regarding equality as the left wing parties already had. But at the same time, the right wing are much more anti-multiculturalism.* He continued...*all countries have difficulties*

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<sup>126</sup> See discussion on toleration related to freedom of speech (4.12.2).

*integrating newcomers, but those countries that share a lot of progressive values regarding sexual and gender equality, seem to be more at odds with Muslim migrants at this moment. He contrasts this 'progressive' environment with countries like Britain and Germany where conservative views have an outlet for expression in public life...because the countries themselves are totally divided on topics like gay marriage or these kinds of things. He noted that research shows...that the values of the migrants in the Netherlands do fit very well in Germany. I mean, the distance to the autochthonous (non-immigrant-Dutch spelling) Germans is not as large as to the autochthonous Dutch...since the Germans are much more conservative or divided over these kinds of topic. Whereas in the Netherlands...all Dutch political parties are almost always on the progressive wing...*

Thus, the participants reflect the view that the 'progressive society' is highly valued by most Dutch. However, the image of the Netherlands as a progressive and tolerant society is weakening due in part to a reaction against immigration and the influx of conservative groups, mainly Islamic. The point one participant makes is that the more progressive a society is, the more problems arise in accepting non-progressive or conservative views, or as Parekh puts it, the tolerant society is facing its limits (in Vertovec, 1997).

#### **4.12.8a Emancipation of women/equality of men and women**

An element of the progressive society includes 'equality of men and women' or 'the emancipation of women' which the participants cited as core Dutch values. Interview #1, #2, #6, #9 all mentioned '*equality of men and women*' and '*emancipation of women*' as *extremely important. It has to be taught from the beginning to immigrants, that women have an equal position to men* (interview #2). Interview #4...*I think it is better to define (core values) rather than talk about them vaguely; it's better to say, in this society, men and women are equal.*

However, emancipation is a recent phenomenon in Dutch history, according to Interview #4...*Fifty years ago, in this country, many people still held ideas which are*

*similar to some that the newcomers now have...up to the 1950's, women who were working for the public, for the government, had to resign on the day they got married. Even though 'emancipation' as a 'value' has appeared relatively recently, there is a strong reaction against anything that appears to be other than 'emancipation', especially when originating from immigrant groups. Interview #2...We have this 'emancipation of women' and suddenly even young girls who have been born here, wear these scarves. It creates a sort of irritation.* Here the participant notes that in Dutch society, wearing a headscarf equates with not being emancipated.

Yet, both Interview #2 and Interview #4 noted that '*emancipation*' and '*equality*' of women in the Netherlands may function more as an 'ideal' than as what always happens in practice. Interview #2...the Dutch have *fundamentalists, Protestant fundamentalists...we have one Christian Party* (Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij SGP)<sup>127</sup> *where women are not allowed to be members of the party...we shouldn't be naïve.*

Interview #4...*why are there are so few women in prestigious positions in the Netherlands? There are more female professors in Turkey than there are in the Netherlands! They are equal in principle, but there is still a fairly long way to go, to be honest.* He added that the issue of equality is *often coloured by all sorts of images and phoney ideas and prejudice.*

Frequently, the participants linked discussions about female emancipation to 'Islam' or the 'Muslim community', as with the headscarf issue mentioned above. Interview #1...*especially in the Islamic community, they are not as progressive in men and women relationships...counter to Dutch values...beating women...it's much discussion in politics...is seen as a sign that they are not integrated* (it is difficult to know if he meant the *beatings* are much talked about, or the general issue of female

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<sup>127</sup> A court in The Hague recently decided the Dutch government is no longer allowed to subsidize the SGP. The Christian Dutch Reformed party does not allow women to be full members; neither can they stand for an election. The court believed that the Dutch government did nothing to stop the discrimination of women by the SGP, but even supported the party by giving it subsidy (government.nl website).

emancipation, since both are frequent topics of discussion in the Netherlands). Interview #5 mentioned the headscarf again...*it emphasizes sex difference and gender difference*, yet correlations between the headscarf and gender equality are not necessarily right...*and the question is...do you have to understand that as a kind of submission? ...it is not necessarily the case.*

The issue of female emancipation was also linked by the participants to integration policy and integration settlement courses. Interview #9...*'we' feel there is a dimension of female emancipation as well* which should be *promoted* as part of the integration policy. Provisions of the new policy make it difficult for young adults to return to their country of origin (or that of their parents or grandparents) to choose a spouse, by setting up stiff barriers to immigration into the Netherlands. Interview #5 observed that the reason many of the young immigrant women want to choose a spouse from outside is because the choice of men within the immigrant community in the Netherlands is limited. Men from these immigrant communities often prefer conservative wives...*the men are importing rather conservative women.* Interview #5 stated that the integration policy should answer *why do people do it? The women do it because they don't have men here on equal footing and modern as well, so they are importing men.*

An aside made by interview #4 was that *nobody had realized that the majority of foreign brides and grooms are not Turkish or Moroccan, but Dutch people who find a spouse in another country. For them it is becoming more difficult as well* (to get their spouses into the Netherlands), *otherwise it would be discriminatory.* Interview #8 brings up another issue that works against emancipation...*childcare facilities are lacking, jeopardizing the participation of women.*

Thus, the participants acknowledge that emancipation of women is valued in the Netherlands, even though it is not fully practiced. The headscarf triggers a reaction among non-Muslims, symbolizing a lack of equality between men and women, even though one participant admits this is not necessarily a logical connection. The

participants point out contradictions in Dutch society which note that integration policies can work against the emancipation of women. What is being revealed here is that when the real aim of integration policy is to stop immigration, as in the case mentioned here (regarding foreign spouses), unintended effects result which may work against a cherished Dutch value.

#### **4.12.8b Freedom of sexual orientation**

Most participants mentioned that freedom of sexual orientation was a core Dutch value but none of the participants said much about it. Only interview #5 mentioned the issue in connection with Muslims...*no good research has been done on changing attitudes among Muslims. The youngsters today are much more progressive regarding homosexuality than their parents were who came to the Netherlands forty years ago. Because the Dutch themselves were rather* (conservative in their views of homosexuality 40 years ago)...*so, we just don't know.* What can be observed here is what Wieviorka notes about culture, that it is in a state of flux (1998:903) and that making judgements about entire groups, 'fossilizes' groups, 'forces them into straightjackets' (Entzinger: 2000: 113), depriving them as Habermas says, 'of the freedom to break off' (1995: 850).

#### **4.12.9 Social Cohesion**

Social cohesion was mentioned by most of the participants as a deeply valued condition, but as with 'integration', 'social cohesion' was difficult to define. Interview #1...*Social cohesion is one of the important terms for this ministry* (national government)... *it is a vague term.*

Most participants agreed that the Netherlands feels threatened by internal and external forces. Interview #8...*a flooding of the country by asylum seekers, formation of an ethnic underclass, rise of Muslim fundamentalism, affordability of the welfare state.* Interestingly, each of these fears is connected to 'immigrants' and 'immigration'. The connection was also made between social cohesion and norms and values. Interview #10...*It is believed that crime, disorder, misconduct...result when there is no*



*consensus about norms and values. In the following sections, the connection between social cohesion and norms and values is examined together with globalization; safety and liveability; and Islam.*

#### **4.12.9a Social cohesion - globalization**

The connection between globalization, social cohesion, and norms and values was made by several participants. Interview #2...*We are now urged to think about our values and norms because of...globalization. We cannot maintain the Dutch nation as an autonomous entity. This whole abstract European Union...nobody identifies with Brussels. And then all these immigrants are coming in, and Germany and France and Britain want to run the show in Europe...we feel threatened, on the basic level of living in these neighbourhoods, the streets, and then on the more abstract level, the Dutch nation within big Europe, subjected to globalization.*

Interview #4...*people feel threatened by incomprehensible influences, strange people. People don't like it, it makes them scared.*

Interview #9...*We are in a period with lots of uncertainties, about international terrorism. This is really a problem for our integration in this country. We feel safe and secure in our small country where everything has been arranged so well and organized. Then realizing you are part of the world, part of Europe, you are an open country. It's very hard to understand.*

Here the participants highlight the impact on the Netherlands of movements of people, the European Union, the threat of terrorism, all of which embody 'the complex process of globalization in a very palpable sense' (Rath et al, 2002).<sup>128</sup> The 'indirect and unsolicited consequences' of globalization (Doomernick, 1998: 2), include the effect that 'difference' has on Dutch society, which is seen as 'threatening' and the cause of moral and social decay (Kamali, 2000: 192).

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<sup>128</sup> <http://europa.eu.int/comm/research/social-sciences/pdf/finalreport/soe2ct983065-final-report.pdf>

#### 4.12.9b Social cohesion – safety and liveability

Social cohesion, as seen above, is disturbed by forces 'out there'. Thus, according to several participants, social cohesion is connected with issues of 'safety' and 'liveability'. Interview #6...*I live in the south of Rotterdam...there are areas where you don't say, let's take a walk...that's something we never thought we would have in Holland, in our welfare state. ...in certain areas, you have children growing up who hardly see white people anymore, or integrated people, because everybody who has the possibility has already moved out!* Here the participant voices the connection between a safe environment and 'white' inhabitants, setting up the equation that 'non-white' equals lack of safety.

This feeling of 'not' being safe in one's neighbourhood is what interview #5 called...*a change in the 'discourse' regarding social cohesion. It is now not so much about economic differences and discrimination. It is about leefbaarheid (liveability) and veiligheid (safety).* Interview #2 talked with amazement about how he lives *in the middle of the city (Rotterdam) and, just the other day, I learned this is the most dangerous triangle in Holland!* The perception that one is not safe is exaggerated, he believes. *The older people, my generation, always lived in Rotterdam. All this new stuff is very threatening. Feelings of insecurity and safety is much bigger than actually the unsafety is!* Here the participant highlights how the perception of 'unsafety' takes root in people's minds regardless of the reality because 'new stuff' is fearful and difficult to incorporate. Again, 'difference' is seen as 'absence of values' and targeted as the cause of moral decay (Kamali, 2000: 192).

Other feelings of 'unsafety' originate from 'zinloos geweld', incidents of 'senseless violence'. Interview #9...*In the last few years, there were incidents of what we call in Dutch 'meaningless' violence. In some way, there is a distinction between 'meaningful' and 'meaningless' violence (he said with amusement). Meaningless'...is walking down the street. You are kicked to death or stabbed or shot, just like that. Many Dutch people have been shocked. What is the cause of all that?* Both interview #9 and #7 said that 'zinloos geweld' has made the Dutch community look inward for

answers. Interview #9...*We don't know! Education? Parents are not educating enough? The loss of values and norms...* then saying with emphasis...*well, there we are again!* Here the participant looks to 'education', and a return to a set of values and norms, what Crul et al note is a call to 'upgrade' norms and values in order to promote social cohesion (1999: 202).

Interview #10 noted...*Calls for a discussion of norms and values (in Rotterdam), is now translated into a call for promoting those kinds of social projects that reduce unsafety.* Here, as interview #9 noted above, the search for why social cohesion is threatened returns again and again to the issue of *norms and values*.

Only one participant voiced caution about the perceived connection between social cohesion and norms and values. Interview #5...*We shouldn't reduce unsafety to different cultural values, because there are so many things in unsafety that play a role.* The participant here is saying that the perceived crumbling of social cohesion is complex, and often wrongly blamed on groups (immigrants) whose cultures (values and norms) are seen as different. Even though one of the tenets of social cohesion is an appreciation of diversity (Niessen, 2000: 10), the implication here is that diversity is not valued, in fact it is feared.

Thus, social cohesion is connected with 'safety' and 'liveability' which increase when more 'whites' live in the neighbourhood, and when education and similar value systems are adhered to.

#### **4.12.9c Social cohesion - Islam**

Social cohesion was also discussed by the participants in relation to Islamic extremism. Interview #5...*A lot of what happens now is due to 9/11, and, at the same time, the murder here (Theo van Gogh)<sup>129</sup> can happen anywhere. So, that's not 'Dutch' specific, but the reactions are.* Pim Fortuyn, a Rotterdam politician<sup>130</sup>,

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<sup>129</sup> Theo van Gogh was a Dutch film maker shot dead in Amsterdam in November, 2004. He was shot by a Somali-born immigrant upset over the contents of one of van Gogh's films critical to Islam.

<sup>130</sup> See footnote 7, page 17.

warned against the *Islamisation of society* and popularized the quote directed at Muslims: 'my tolerance doesn't stretch to intolerance' (Michalwoski, 2005: 3). Norms and values are again the focus. Interview #11...*Islam is often singled out as particularly problematic: it is frequently characterised as incompatible with the Netherlands's liberal values...* Interview #2...*we are now urged to think about our values and norms because of...the influence of Islam in Holland.*

As seen in the analysis on social cohesion (4.12.9), these participants define Dutch values as 'liberal' while presenting the Dutch view that sees Muslim values in opposition, or as non- liberal. The participants also present the view that Dutch society equates adherence to a similar set of values as fundamental for a socially cohesive society.

#### **4.12.10 Integration Policy**

Although integration policy itself cannot be a value per say, the aims and goals of the policy can be 'valued', in particular as policy relates to employment issues (4.12.3 and 4.12.4) and how policy promotes certain 'values' such as self-sufficiency and individualisation (4.12.5). It seemed, therefore, important to understand how the participants reflected on policy.

##### **4.12.10a Policy – assimilation and/or pluralism (multiculturalism)**

The issue of Dutch *norms and values* surfaced in the interviews in connection with the aims and goals of integration policy, revealing ways in which Dutch society regards assimilation and multiculturalism. One way this was revealed was through the history of policy. Interview #11...*past policy identified minority groups as culturally distinct and therefore unable to fit in with prevalent socio-cultural norms and to adapt to western culture.*

Interview #4...*the Netherlands, as a multicultural society, was a wonderful example to be emulated by the whole world, but this multiculturalism...there were discussions whether it really was multiculturalism or not...it served in my view as a sort of excuse*

*for not incorporating these migrants, leaving them on the sideline, cherishing their own culture, without accepting them as mainstream society.*

Interview #8 concluded that the multicultural period in policy...*stimulated inertia among ethnic minorities...sustaining cultural identities....* Here the participants voice what the literature revealed as a 'disillusion', a 'compassion fatigue' with the principles of multiculturalism (Bennett, 1998: 1). One reason for this fatigue which is cited by the participants (and previously in 4.12.8b) was how such policies tended to 'reinforce exclusion' (Wieviorka, 1998: 903).

The perceived failure of multiculturalism created a shift in thinking about policy. Interview #11...*the present integration programs have been conceived as pragmatic, post-assimilationist and post-multiculturalist. By obliging migrants to integrate, the programs touch the sensitive question of a pluralistic versus an assimilationist society. ... now it (assimilation) is an approach that is generally accepted. The trend in the public debate about these measures also reflects academic discussions about 'the return of assimilation'.*

Interview #4 argued this same point without using the word 'assimilation'. *One can argue that the recent shift breaks clearly with the respectful attitudes that prevailed in that period, but it has also become clear to many that this sort of benign neglect is no longer possible. And then the real clashes come, who has to adapt to whom? In the past, we postponed that answer by pretending that everyone preserves his or her own identity. It's only fairly recently that awareness has come...you need to share certain values, have certain points of identification in common.*

Interview #2 also agrees with the interpretation that 'assimilation' is important. *Integration is that you fit into the society, and that you assimilate to the basic values and norms laid down in the constitution and the different laws. We want the separation of church and state; we want the emancipation of women. We are against any form of segregation; discrimination; (we uphold) monogamy. That is culture. You have to assimilate to that, but from there you can have your own values and standards...I repeat myself, of those values we demand assimilation.*

The powerful message in these remarks is that 'assimilation' into the values and norms of Dutch society is seen as essential. There is little room for argument, according to the participants, even if they themselves may hold differing views. The 'return of assimilation' accepts the neutrality of 'universal' principles' and ignores what Bourdieu believes, that 'The universal is never power-neutral' (in Stratton & Ang, 1998, 146).

Interview #8 recognizes that 'assimilating' to Dutch norms and values does not necessarily result in having a job and being educated. *...the advocates of the ideology of cultural assimilation assume that steeping newcomers into the symbolic world of Dutch values will eventually enhance their participation in other areas in Dutch society, such as education and the labour market....* The point made here by the participant is that the process of integration, including getting a job and an education, is a much more complex process than adhering to Dutch norms and values.

Assimilation rests on yet another assumption which Interview #8 mentions, that of Dutch cultural unity...*The proponents of cultural assimilation do not seem to question the unity of Dutch culture...the question towards which Dutch (sub) culture newcomers should direct themselves is never asked and is repressed by the actual endeavour to win consent for a preferred reading of the national culture.* The participant here is asking questions similar to those posed by Favell, asking how a 'national' culture is defined, and what is one supposed to assimilate and/or integrate into (2003: 29)? The participant is also reflecting the confusion that arises when Dutch society claims to value diversity, yet demands assimilation.

To interview #11, however, the whole focus on 'assimilation' is puzzling. *The focus on cultural assimilation is all the more astonishing when one considers that the Netherlands has for many centuries been successful in respecting religious pluralism. 'Multicultural co-existence' has been reinterpreted as 'assimilation'....* Here the participant recognizes and expresses surprise at the changes 'toleration' is undergoing in the Netherlands.

Only one participant, Interview #9, a policy analyst for the city of Rotterdam, assuredly said...*Our government and our city government is very clear - we are not trying to adopt an assimilation policy...*<sup>131</sup> It is interesting to note that a city official rejects the assimilationist nature in policy in the face of so much evidence to the contrary. Perhaps it shows awareness of the disfavor that the term ‘assimilation’ has fallen into (Pikänen et al, 2002: 4), or his understanding of the sheer un-likelihood that absorption into another culture can even occur.

Thus, the participants recognize that integration policy is assimilationist in nature regarding Dutch norms and values, while also recognizing that such a process assumes a unity of culture which doesn’t exist, and may assert advantages which may not materialize. In contrast, national policy clearly stated that ‘assimilation’ is not the goal of integration policy. Vermeulen points out the existence of this contradiction (1997: 146) which may relate to the disfavor ‘assimilation’ has fallen into and therefore the reluctance of national policy to be so blunt (Brubaker, 2001: 533). This rejection of assimilation is clouded, however, by the strong views expressed in national policy (4.3.6) that assimilation into the *norms and values* of society is necessary. This situation reflects how policy aims and objectives are often hidden or distorted (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 41).

#### **4.12.10b Policy – evaluation of policy**

The participants were not overwhelmingly positive in their assessment of the new integration policy. For some, the intent was too simple. Interview #2...*The debate and the political intentions are rather limited, simplistic. In policy you have to reduce complexities, but it can be too simplistic. Holland, he stated, is fighting symptoms, resulting in symptomatic kinds of policies, which I hate. They should be much more fundamental. (It is) dangerous that policies are being set up on that primitive level. It is counterproductive. It won’t work!*

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<sup>131</sup> See discussion on assimilation 2.3.2 and 2.4.3

Some participants considered the pace of change too quick. Interview #1...*They (government) are forgetting it takes very much time to develop policy and implement it. Now, the government wants to change everything and I think it's too quick.* Interview #11 described the changes going on as a kind of...*'slashing' of the programs.* Interview #9, a policy analyst, gave an inside perspective...*Maybe from the outside, it looks wonderful...but I've always tried to explain what our dilemmas in integration policy are. It (the policy) doesn't always work.* Interview #4...*Personally, I'm not sure it's the right direction.*

These participants express what the literature noted concerning the design of policy for specific outcomes which may not be possible (van het Loo et al, 2001: 103). However, the concern expressed by Interview #11 seems the most serious. ...*there is no claim whatsoever that a newcomer who has participated in a (integration) program is in fact 'integrated'...it brings up the question how much a foreigner...must do in order to be considered 'integrated'.* Here the participant is expressing frustration similar to that noted by May who states that society continually reinvents the criteria for full assimilation (2003: 11).

One participant did express optimism for the new policy. Interview #9...*The new government focuses more on the social-cultural dimension in the new integration policy. I'm not always agreed with the choices they make, but I think our government is trying to deal with the values. That's a step forward.* However, Interview #11 disagrees. ...*recent immigration policies would be best described by the word 'inhospitable'. Is what we are witnessing simply a transitional phase for Dutch society, which will precipitate renewed reflection on traditional values of tolerance? Or does it imply a fundamental break with past values?* The self-searching reflected here is what Audigier describes as the tolerant society discovering 'differences' which cannot be tolerated (1998: 10), which results in a change in the definition of toleration.



Finally, interview #9 predicted that ...*This is an interesting subject (Dutch norms and values) and it has not come to a conclusion yet. The discussion about norms and values will last for many years; we've only started.*

#### 4.13 Summary

Section 4.12 – 4.12.10b explored individual norms and values as viewed by the participants. A summary follows:

(4.12.1) analyzed the *separation of church and state* with the attendant issues of the *secular society* and *freedom of religion* (4.12.1a).

- The Dutch value separation of church and state, and the secularized society. The practice of these values may not seem so clear to many immigrants while the Dutch perceive that many Muslims do not cherish these values.

(4.12.2) analyzed *freedom of speech*.

- Traditional boundaries of tolerance relating to freedom of speech are being replaced by a freedom to say whatever one wants, mostly targeted at immigrants.

(4.12.3) analyzed *employment*.

- Having a job is highly valued in Dutch society, yet structural problems and discrimination limit the possibilities of immigrants to work. The perception is, however, that many don't want to work.

(4.12.4) analyzed the *welfare state*.

- The welfare state is highly valued. The perception is that many immigrants 'abuse' the system, yet Dutch natives are the largest users.

(4.12.5) analyzed *self-sufficiency, autonomy* and *individualism*.

- Integration policy promotes self-sufficiency and individualism while the government tries to promote community values among the native Dutch.

(4.12.6) analyzed *sanctions* and *enforcement*.

- Many Dutch have a disdain for enforcement of certain laws, whereas the government can be lax in enforcing the law. This situation harms the legitimacy of law, especially relating to integration policy.

(4.12.7) analyzed *diversity*.

- Rotterdam's housing policy, encouraging higher income people to relocate into the city, 'disqualifies' those already living there and undermines ethnic neighborhoods, thus reducing the 'diversity' the city claims it promotes.

(4.12.8) analyzed *the progressive society* including *the emancipation of women* (4.12.8a) and *freedom of sexual orientation* (4.12.8b).

- The progressive society is highly valued but does not allow 'space' for the expression of conservative values. The emancipation of women is highly valued but not always practiced. Muslim women may want more progressive marriage partners from outside Holland, but the new integration policy makes this difficult.

(4.12.9) analyzed *social cohesion*, its relationship to *globalization*, (4.12.9a) to *safety and livability* (4.12.9b), and to *Islam* (4.12.9c).

- Social cohesion and 'norms and values' are related issues. Reducing social cohesion to issues of 'safety' ignores other important factors.

(4.12.10) analyzed *integration policy*. (4.12.10a) analyzed policy in relation to *assimilation and multiculturalism*. (4.12.10b) analyzed the '*evaluation*' of policy.

- Principles based on 'assimilation' have replaced multicultural ones in the new integration policy concerning norms and values. However, there are doubts as to how norms and values help immigrants integrate into Dutch society, a process no one has, as yet, adequately defined. Nor is one sure whether a 'break' with traditional values is occurring.

## 4.14 Education

The final section in *Chapter Four-Part Two* deals with 'education'. This topic is especially important since my research is to understand how *education plays a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values*. The participants discussed the role of education along with the value of 'being educated' which is the topic of the following section.

### 4.14.1 The value of being educated

The participants did not discuss the value of 'being educated' as directly and frequently as they discussed the 'role of education' in integration, but the topic was discernable in some of their comments. Interview #2 discussed the Islamic University in Rotterdam which educates young Muslims in 'liberal values'. The implication was that for these students and, by extrapolation, the larger society, the value of 'being educated' lies in 'becoming steeped in liberal ideas' and the consequent access such education brings to membership in a liberal democratic society. *These are important forces (liberal ideas). A lot of young Muslims want this kind of Islam, not the old fashioned sentimentalism...*

The value of being educated was also discernable in the comments participants made about employment. As was mentioned in 4.12.3, *everyone sees getting a job, participating in the labour market, as the royal way towards integration* (interview #4 and 8). Thus, the value of 'being educated' is to ensure employment. In terms of integration, this means reconciling the...*mismatch between the qualifications of the people who enter...and the qualifications that are needed* (Interview #4). According to interview #9, Rotterdam has a plan to reconcile this *mismatch* by inaugurating, as part of the integration program, a *work traineeship*.<sup>132</sup> This is to include informal, practical, and hands-on type of experience to help newcomers learn what working in a Dutch environment is like. The goal is that newcomers will experience 'how people behave', *to have the 'feel' of what it is like to be working in this company or organization*. The value of 'being educated' then, lies in the ability to access

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<sup>132</sup> See 4.12.3 discussion on the traineeship program.

employment, but this access is again, (as was seen in the case of the Islamic University), based on access to liberal Dutch norms and values, in this instance, values of the work place.

The value of 'being educated' also gives one access to the norms and values that confer status as a law-abiding member of society. Interview #10...*It is believed that crime, disorder, misconduct...result when there is no consensus about norms and values*, and this consensus is brought about by education. The most important value in being educated, however, for the newcomer, is summed up by Interview #5...*the goal in the end is to integrate*.

Thus, the 'value of being educated' means being educated in 'liberal' values; being educated in liberal values gives access to employment and access to status in the community as a law-abiding person, all of which add up to being 'integrated'. Thus, an equation can be set that the value of being educated equals being integrated.

In the next section, the analysis examines the participants' comments on the 'role of education', how 'being educated' may not bring the intended results, and how the role of education is not always so clear-cut.

#### **4.14.2 The role of education – teaching norms and values**

Several participants expressed views that the major role of education is to teach newcomers Dutch norms and values. Interview #5...*Holland had only recently been recognized as an immigrant society, so you can say people just arrived, or for twenty years they've been arriving. Therefore, we can teach them what our norms and values are.*

Interview #2...*basic things like separation of church and state, discrimination not allowed...individualization, emancipation of women; that has to be taught from the beginning to the immigrants.*

Thus, the participants are clear that the role of education is to 'teach' norms and values. But first, they must be defined. Interview #9...*This exam will have two components: one is language; one is about society. It will include values and norms...which are supposed to be explicitly formulated.*

Interview #11...*integration programs need to define, e.g. learning targets for orientation courses about Dutch society that deal with 'Dutch norms and values'.* Once norms and values are defined, another role of education is to 'test'.

Interview #9...*and the activities and beliefs of migrants are supposed to be 'tested' according to these values and norms.* Here the participant gives weight to an 'exam' as a way to test one's values and norms, but as Dalin and Rust caution, rote learning in order to pass a test does not address the issue of 'internalizing' a value, a process that is linked to 'integration' (1996: 81).

Although the participants above are clear that education has a role in teaching norms and values, and express the need to see explicit goals as to what is taught and tested, pessimism remained as to whether such goals would be met. Interview #4...*orientation is the trickiest part of all because that is explicitly on values, national identity, all sorts of very sensitive things...it is likely to generate difficult discussions...how to communicate the values?*

Interview #1...*achieving this goal is difficult. I don't think they will succeed in it, especially that part about Dutch standards and values.* Here the participants are expressing what the literature also supported (de Beer, 2004: 16), that defining norms and values is difficult and thus, are difficult to communicate to others.

Interview #2, on the other hand, felt that it was possible to teach liberal values but that such teaching was regarded too narrowly by the Dutch government and community. Such teaching already occurs within Islamic structures such as the Islamitische Universiteit Rotterdam but, according to the participant, is not publicized nor supported financially by the Dutch government. If the government is serious about teaching liberal values, why are they not supporting the university, this participant asked? *We should support the liberal elements of Islam, modern Islam,*

*that's the Islamitische Universiteit Rotterdam. It's very liberal. It's all in Dutch. It's a university level study of Islam. They have conferences on female circumcision, experts from the Middle East telling them it's not part of Islam. Big conference on 'honor revenge'...you don't hear a word about it...the media are not interested. My position is, support it...support them!* The participant threw doubt on the commitment of Dutch society to support liberal teaching within an Islamic context which he found puzzling since the government supports other 'liberal' universities. As he stated...*I advise my party to give them accreditation, to subsidize them*, then he adds an example where this is already happening, *like the Humanistic University in Utrecht*.

Thus, the participants agreed that the role of education was to teach norms and values, yet specifics on how this is to occur were not clear. A university attempting to teach liberal values was held up as an example of that which is not supported financially or otherwise by the government.

#### **4.14.2a Role of education – to promote self-sufficiency in a market economy**

According to the participants, and as was seen in **4.12.5**, integration policy values 'self-sufficiency, autonomy and individualization'. The role of education in the context of integration is, therefore, to impart these 'values' to newcomers. One way to do this is by making everyone responsible for his/her own 'education'. Interview #4 discusses how this attitude represents a 'shift' from past integration policy when the state took responsibility for the education of newcomers. In the present policy, *this government argues...it is the migrants own responsibility that they learn. The only obligation is that they have to pass an exam. Most of the infrastructure...developed over the past years will be discontinued*. Interview #9 points out that the government is stressing the 'obligation' immigrants have to integrate, and the 'effort' this obligation requires. He states... *the obligation is the effort...we ask you, we 'oblige' you to do the effort*.

This promotion by policy of individual responsibility starts in the country of origin. As was mentioned in **4.12.5**, the new integration rules require a potential immigrant,

from certain countries, to pass an exam in the Dutch language which is meant to demonstrate a basic knowledge of the Dutch language and a basic knowledge of Dutch society. The language requirement is not complicated, according to Interview #6. *What's difficult about learning the language? Almost anybody can do it! You have to be very, very stupid not to be able to learn another language! Everybody can do that!*

But not all participants think such policy makes sense. Interview # 2... *We (committee advising the government) have great problems with the idea of learning the language in Turkey or Morocco, for instance. Very often the un-alphabetism (illiteracy) is high. How are these people ever to pick up Dutch? I mean, what is the sense of it? Ridiculous! And then, what kind of exam are you instituting? Well, it's at the consulate, they can do it by phone...they have to call the consulate. I mean, crazy, absolutely crazy! We were of course, not able to say that in these terms, but the Minister was actually not amused. She said it was actually possible.*

Interview #1... *to learn the Dutch language in Morocco, for example, I think it's very difficult.*

Once in Holland, this 'do it yourself' approach continues, as immigrants must find classes and choose educational materials in an open market. Interview #3 states... *no government material will be produced.* Interview #1... *the government will only produce guides as to what should be taught and (guides on) the rules of the teachers...the government says they don't have to be involved in it.*

Several participants expressed skepticism about promoting self-sufficiency and individualism in this way, through privatization of the integration process. Interview #4... *They (the government) expect that the language courses will emerge in the free market, and they definitely will, of course, but what is the quality of these courses? And who's going to check the quality? And is that really the most efficient way, and will those whose level of knowledge or whose initial level is low, and therefore are bad risks for these courses, will they have a fair chance to find the courses that suit*

*them? And if they have to pay for the courses themselves, where are they going to get the money? His concerns extend to the country of origin. The test will have to be given through the local embassy.<sup>133</sup> If it comes to be, it's certainly going to cost them (the government) a lot of money which they could have spent more readily on appropriating courses here (in Holland).*

This development of materials left to 'market' forces makes interview #11 wonder whether the Netherlands will become a trendsetter for 'privatizing' the integration market.

Thus, several participants are less than enthused about the manner in which the integration process and privatization are being linked. What the participants are alluding to is that teaching values such as 'individualization' and 'self-sufficiency' through the process of privatization, can have unintended consequences if integration policy intends other than what is stated. As Entzinger warns, there is a disconnect between policy and results when the intent is hidden or obscured (2000: 105), and as Doornick et al contend, integration policies in the Netherlands are now 'immigration control policies' (1997: 24).

#### **4.14.2b Role of education – to promote social cohesion**

According to the participants, one of the roles of education is to promote social cohesion through the teaching of norms and values to immigrants and non-immigrants alike. Interview #9 discussed this role in the context of *zinloos geweld* (senseless violence) in Dutch society...*What is the cause? We don't know. Education? Parents are not educating enough? The loss of values and norms? Well, there we are again!*<sup>134</sup> - acknowledging by that exclamation the return, again and again, to the belief that the loss of Dutch norms and values is the root cause of societal problems in Holland, while 'education' (be it parental or otherwise) is at fault for these values not being transmitted. Interview #9 continues...*integration policy is*

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<sup>133</sup> See Appendix VI for information on the in-country exam

<sup>134</sup> See **4.12.9b** for analysis of participant's discussion on *zinloos geweld*.



*now focusing on the values and norms that should be adopted and that immigrants should learn; but Dutch citizens have the same problem. Interview #2 agreed...My fear is that the native Dutch young people don't develop this kind of consciousness about values and norms. And I think our education system is, in that respect, abominable. ...we don't teach those values in high schools. I think it's quite important, for native and immigrant.*

Here the participants expressed their belief in education, broadly defined, such as that parents may impart, as the means by which norms and values are taught, a process that both immigrants and non-immigrants should experience since underlying it all, is a belief that the cohesiveness of society is at stake.

#### **4.14.2c Role of education - to promote employment**

Section 4.14.1 mentioned that one of the values of being educated is 'being employable'. The role of education, in this context, is to ensure a person has the proper skills for employment. In the context of integration, the role of education is to align the *mismatch* between the skills of those who immigrate and the skills a country needs (4.14.1). However, this alignment does not always occur. Interview #4...*the problem is that we don't have adequate instruments to re-qualify these people who do enter.*

Interview #8 agreed that the needed support was not always forthcoming. ...*the implementation of a full integration and reception program requires a strong financial and political investment, which states and governments are not always willing to provide.* This was a major concern for Interview #6 whose worries extended to the financing of a local traineeship program...*Rotterdam has created quite a few extra resources for this. But if it's not sufficient, and it's a matter of money, then we will just go and find more money, because this is a serious issue... The goals of the policy are clear, and we hope the means are sufficient, and if they are not, then we have to do something else (to get the money).*

However, the focus on employment as one of the main means by which one is 'integrated' was not accepted as valid by everyone. It seems pertinent to remember what Interview #8 said (4.12.3) about employment and integration. *The belief in waged labour as the main integrative mechanism can be considered a fallacy, especially when immigrants must compete amongst each other for low paid temporary jobs that have little prospect of promotion or tenure...one must doubt the integrative results of this kind of participation.*

Interview #5 agrees. For this participant, the focus on education and labor has left the 'cultural' gap exposed. *I think that was naïve. It is now reality that we experience this cultural gap ...we thought that if it goes better in schools, and people participate in the labor market...but we have independently learned that there is this cultural clash going on.* As has been noted in the literature, the cultural dimension is where Dutch norms and values reside (May, 2003: 5).

However, a strong belief in the integrating power of 'work' remains. Interview #1 believes that having a job is a condition for learning values and norms. *Rotterdam has done a lot of work on values and standards. New immigrants should work and participate, and then, in the end, learn the values and norms.* Here the participant concurs with the idea that the structural dimension of integration comes before the cultural, an equation May contends, that as yet cannot be answered (2003: 7).

Thus, the participants accept that the role of education is to help ensure employability but are not in agreement that employability ensures 'integration'. Doubting the connection between employability and integration highlights what Entzinger calls a 'discrepancy' between what policy intends and what can be accomplished (2000: 105). Furthermore, the participants confirm what the literature analysis revealed, that integration is difficult to define, and difficult to explain when it is achieved (Favell, 2001: 351).

#### 4.15 Summary and Conclusion

Section 4.14 analyzed the participants' views on education' which included:

(4.14.1) an analysis of the '*value of being educated*'

- The value of being educated allows access to Dutch norms and values; to employability; and to status as a law-abiding person, all of which help define an integrated person.

The participants revealed the following theories and beliefs:

(4.14.2) that the *role of education* is to teach values and norms

- Yet, defining norms and values is difficult which makes it difficult to communicate them to others.

(4.14.2a) that the *role of education* is to promote self-sufficiency and individualism in a market economy

(4.14.2b) that the *role of education* is to promote social cohesion through the teaching of norms and values

(4.14.2c) that the *role of education* is to enhance employability, but the connection between being employed and being integrated is not clear

Thus, the value of 'being educated' and the 'role of education' are complex and include expectations that are not always possible to fulfill.

*Chapter Four-Part Two* presented an analysis of eleven interviews. The participants represented a range of views on integration and integration policy from both a national and local level. As described in the provenance (4.11.1) and in 3.4.1, the participants were academics, policy analysts, politicians, and researcher students. This range of participants did not include any immigrant voices. I did not intend to exclude that voice; however, in my search to contact those who were instrumental in advising, designing, and/or implementing integration policy, I was never able to make contact with that voice. I am not sure if this is a 'weakness' in my research, or a confirmation that the 'immigrant' voice was not present in the integration policy design and implementation.

*Chapter Four-Part Two* analyzed the participants' comments in relation to 'norms and values' and 'integration policy'. The first section dealt with various issues related to norms and values. Section two analyzed particular norms and values which the participants chose to focus on, and section three dealt with the analysis of education, integration and norms and values. The conclusions that emerged from these interviews will be presented in *Chapter Five*, along with the conclusions reached from the policy analysis in *Part One*.

## 5 Conclusions and implications

### 5.1 Introduction

*Chapter Five* is the final chapter of this thesis. It presents conclusions and implications of the research based on the preceding four chapters. *Chapter One* introduced the research problem: *From the view of policy, policy makers, and those who influence integration policy, how does education play a role in helping adult newcomers integrate through the teaching of Dutch norms and values?* Along with stating the problem, *Chapter One* justified the research, gave an overview of the methodology, made clear the thesis outline and presented the research limitations.

*Chapter Two* analyzed literature relevant to the research question. The analysis provided insight into what current research says about the issues involved and pointed to areas where research is non-existent or scant. *Chapter Three* described the methodology used to collect and analyze data. With the theoretical insights provided from the literature analysis in *Chapter Two* and the tools of methodology provided in *Chapter Three*, I was able to analyze the collected data in *Chapter Four*. This analysis was in two parts: *Part One*, national and local policy; *Part Two*, interviews.

*Chapter Five* is divided into several sections. Section (5.2) summarizes findings from the literature analysis *Chapter Two*, and from the policy analysis in *Chapter Four* based on the six factors identified in 2.1: policy; integration; norms and values; city as site of research; social cohesion; and education. The summary points out agreements and/or disagreements between the literature, the interviews and the policy analysis. Section (5.3) continues this summarizing process regarding individual norms and values. Section (5.4) makes conclusions based on the summary in (5.2). Section (5.5) makes conclusions based on the summary in (5.3). Section (5.6) draws conclusions regarding the role of education. Section (5.7) addresses implications for further research. Section (5.8) is a personal reflection on what I have learned through the process of this research.

## 5.2 Summary of findings

The main summary of findings from the literature analysis, the interviews and the analysis of national and local policy is presented here using the six factors listed above. As explained in 2.1, these six topics were chosen as guides for the collection of data and its analysis because they are the major components of the research question.

### 5.2.1 Policy

Data analysis of the interviews found that there has been a failure of past integration policy blamed on ‘multiculturalist’ principles which effectively isolated immigrant groups (4.12.10a). These findings were consistent with the findings in the literature analysis (Entzinger, 2004; van het Loo et al, 2001; Vermeulen, 1999; Berger and Vermeulen, 2001).<sup>135</sup> Local policy blamed the central government for this failure (4.7.8). The literature also supported the view that policy rarely has the intended effects (Driessen, 2000).<sup>136</sup>

Data analysis of the interviews found that the participants were not optimistic about the success of the new integration policy: the direction of the policy is not clear; the changes too fast; the policy is reactive (4.12.10b). Interestingly, national policy questioned its own power to effect change (4.3.9). The literature confirmed this suspicion about the power of policy to affect change, questioning whether having an integration policy makes a difference (Koopmans, 2003).<sup>137</sup> The literature pointed out the irony that even though policy is blamed for the past failure of integration (Dutch News Bulletin, 2004), integration today is policy driven (Schibel et al, 2002; Favell, 2003).<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> See 2.3.4 c

<sup>136</sup> See 2.7.2

<sup>137</sup> See 2.3.4c. It is mentioned that in Germany, where there has been no integration policy, immigrants seem better integrated.

<sup>138</sup> See 2.3.1

Local policy was clear that integration is a local issue<sup>139</sup>, and local control must prevail. However, the dependency between local and national government was recognized (4.7.8). The participants were nearly unanimous in their agreement that the success of integration on the local level meant central government must control immigration (4.11.5). Not surprising, local policy supported this view (4.7.8). The literature analysis supported the view that the new integration policy is actually aimed at immigration control (Doomernick et al, 1997).<sup>140</sup>

### 5.2.2 Integration

Data analysis found that integration is difficult to define. This was most clearly stated in the interviews (4.11.5), a position confirmed by the literature (Pitkaenen et al, 2002; Korac, 2003; Schibel et al, 2002; Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003).<sup>141</sup> Data analysis also found that it is not clear when integration is achieved. This was stated in the interviews (4.11.5 and 4.12.10b) and supported by literature which stated there is no model group to integrate into (Favell, 2001/2003; Ang, 2003; Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; Banton, 2001)<sup>142</sup> and no standard by which to measure how well the majority group is integrated (Favell, 2003; May, 2003)<sup>143</sup>. There was an attempt at the national (4.2.4) and local levels (4.6.4) to define 'integration' by indicating what one must do: participate in Dutch society and respect those norms and values found in the Dutch constitution. National policy included knowledge of the 'unwritten' rules of society as essential to integration (4.2.3).

The data analysis found that national policy (4.2.4) and local policy (4.6.4) stressed integration is a 'two-way street'. The literature analysis supported this finding that successful integration should be a two-way street involving immigrants and the host society (European Commission in Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; May, 2003; Penninx, 2003; Ray, 2002).<sup>144</sup> Local policy did, however, detail the distrust that exists

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<sup>139</sup> See discussion 5.2.4.

<sup>140</sup> See 2.3.4c

<sup>141</sup> See 2.3

<sup>142</sup> See 2.3.1

<sup>143</sup> See 2.3.1

<sup>144</sup> See 2.3.1

between immigrants and non-immigrants, and recognized that policy does nothing to develop the instruments for creating a 'two-way street' (4.6.4). The literature analysis also showed that even though integration is supposed to be a two-way process, it is not, since the bulk of the burden rests on immigrants (Joppke, 2003).<sup>145</sup>

### 5.2.2a Integration – assimilation

'Integration' is the most commonly used term in policy today (Vermeulen, 1997).<sup>146</sup> Data analysis showed that it is the favored term in national policy (4.3.6). The literature analysis supports the use of the term 'integration' since 'assimilation', which was favored in past policy, connotes a process whereby immigrants become like those already living in the country in all aspects (Hjerm, 2000; Pitkänen et al). Thus, the term is discredited today since it does not acknowledge 'diversity' (Vermeulen, 1997)<sup>147</sup>. However, in the interviews, the participants (4.11.5 and 4.12.10a) acknowledged that, even though integration is the stated aim in policy, assimilation is the accepted approach, policy stating the need to 'assimilate' into the norms and values of Dutch society. The interviews did reveal problems with this approach since it assumes the unity of Dutch culture, an assumption without credit in the literature (Favell, 2003),<sup>148</sup> and assumes that assimilation into the norms and values enhances participation in education and the labor market, which research does not yet support (4.12.10a).

National policy actively discredits assimilation in a diverse society like the Netherlands, yet does accept that assimilation into the norms and values is necessary (4.3.6). Such acceptance of assimilation in one area confirms what the literature stated, that policy can be of mixed intent (Vermeulen, 1997).<sup>149</sup> However, this makes policy objectives unclear, even hidden (Entzinger, 2000)<sup>150</sup>: how can policy advocate

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<sup>145</sup> See 2.3.1

<sup>146</sup> See 2.3.2

<sup>147</sup> See 2.3.4c

<sup>148</sup> See 2.3.4b

<sup>149</sup> See 2.3.4c

<sup>150</sup> See 2.3.4c



assimilation into Dutch norms and values and still claim the policy is not assimilationist in nature, is a question May (2003) ponders.<sup>151</sup> The problem of clarity also relates to the confusion that the term 'assimilation' evokes (May, 2003; Korac, 2003)<sup>152</sup>.

In contrast to the participants and national policy, local policy (4.7.7) is openly assimilationist in its approach. There is nothing in the literature that speaks to why this difference exists except to note that local policy is clear that Rotterdam is in 'trouble' and needs to take dramatic action to save the city. In addition, there is a feeling that national policy is 'glacial' in its ability to effect change (4.7.8). It may also be that local policy is more openly honest about its objectives.

### 5.2.3 Norms and values

The participants (4.11.3), national policy (4.2.3) and local policy (4.6.3) all agreed that certain universal values are shared by liberal democratic societies. These values are found in the constitution and the law, yet defining what these values mean is difficult. The literature supported this assessment that modern democracies share universal values (de Beer, 2004; Joppke, 2003) which are often vague and difficult to define (de Beer, 2004).<sup>153</sup> National policy (4.2.3) also states that Dutch norms and values include 'unwritten' or 'social rules' which help society co-exist. According to the participants, interest in defining Dutch norms and values emerged as immigration grew, since immigrants were perceived as not sharing the same values (4.11.3). Local policy gave the same assessment (4.6.4). The literature supported these findings (Vertovec, 1997)<sup>154</sup>, concluding that a perceived lack of shared values is the most critical source of conflict among immigrants and non-immigrants today (Crul et al, 1999)<sup>155</sup>. Local policy noted that this conflict resulted in a struggle by native Dutch to articulate who they are (4.6.3; 4.6.4), a struggle which makes immigrants feel

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<sup>151</sup> See 2.4.3

<sup>152</sup> See 2.3.4c

<sup>153</sup> See 2.4.1

<sup>154</sup> See 2.4.1

<sup>155</sup> See 2.4.1

targeted (4.6.4). According to the participants, this struggle contains the message 'accept our values or go back' (4.11.4). One participant pondered whether this type of message indicates that Holland is in the process of making a 'fundamental break' with past values of tolerance (4.12.10b).

Accepting Dutch norms and values is an important part of the process of integration. This position is found in all the data: the participants (4.11.2); national policy (4.2.2/4.2.4); and local policy (4.6.2/4.6.4). The literature supports this conclusion (Kamali, 2000).<sup>156</sup> Dutch norms and values is the area in which assimilation is expected, according to the participants (4.11.4 and as discussed above in 5.2.2a). National policy contended that discussion and dialogue are important in the area of norms and values, a contention supported by literature (Kelly, 2001).<sup>157</sup> In this vein, a national website on norms and values was created (4.2.2), and city-wide debates were organized in Rotterdam (4.6.2).

#### **5.2.4 City as site of research**

Local policy confirms the importance of the local, arguing that the city needs control over the details of integration since central government has failed in its implementation of policy in the past (4.7.8). The participants did not speak directly to the issue of local control. Rather, there was an underlying assumption of its importance as local policies were discussed.

The literature analysis strongly supported the notion of the city as an important site of integration research. It is the city where the integration process occurs and where the tensions between local and national government are worked out (Papademetriou, 2003; Rex, 2000; Ray, 2002; Penninx: 2003; Favell, 2001).<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> See 2.4.2

<sup>157</sup> See 2.4.3

<sup>158</sup> See 2.5

### 5.2.5 Social cohesion

Data analysis showed that social cohesion is difficult to define. This was stated by the participants (4.12.9) national policy (4.3.7), and supported by the literature (Vertovec, 1997).<sup>159</sup>

The data analysis showed agreement between the participants (4.12.9), national policy (4.3.7), and local policy (4.7.5) that social cohesion is thought to be connected to adherence to a country's norms and values, thus making norms and values a major focus of integration policy. The literature supported this view (Kamali, 2000; Crul et al, 1999)<sup>160</sup> and noted that failure to integrate is seen as contributing, in a significant way, to the breakdown in social order (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998; de Beer, 2004; Vertovec, 1997; van Amersfoort, 1999).<sup>161</sup>

The literature analysis also found that immigration is considered a threat to social cohesion since immigrants may adhere to a different set of values (Kamali, 2000).<sup>162</sup> The participants (4.12.9b) and local policy (4.7.6) concluded that this different set of values was largely linked to Muslim immigrants. National policy was quiet on the issue. The literature confirmed that such values are seen to collide with the values of a modern western society (Schedler and Glastra, 2000; Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998).<sup>163</sup>

Data analysis found that assimilation is valued in the area of Dutch norms and values. Both national (4.3.6) and local policy (4.7.7) stated this. The literature supported this view (May 2003),<sup>164</sup> but argued that cohesion is promoted when 'diversity' is valued (Niessen, 2000),<sup>165</sup> and assimilation is not in keeping with the promotion of diversity.

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<sup>159</sup> See 2.6.1

<sup>160</sup> See 2.4.2

<sup>161</sup> See 2.6.1

<sup>162</sup> See 2.4.2

<sup>163</sup> See 2.4.5

<sup>164</sup> See 2.6.1

<sup>165</sup> See 2.6.1

This situation may signal problems for the promotion of social cohesion (Ray 2002).<sup>166</sup>

The data analysis found that social cohesion is also threatened when a segment of the population, mainly immigrants, are unemployed and on welfare. National policy linked unemployment and welfare to 'not being integrated' (4.3.4). This view was also stated by local policy (4.7.2). The data analysis found that to promote integration, policy focuses on 'market principles' and 'self-responsibility'. The participants stated this (4.12.4/4.12.5), as did national (4.3.5) and local policy (4.7.3). The literature supported the view that autonomy is the main objective of integration policy (Michalowski, 2004b)<sup>167</sup> seen as necessary for survival in a competitive modern society (Mendus, 1995; Kelly, 2001).<sup>168</sup>

However, national policy argued that although 'self-sufficiency' and 'individualization' are promoted in integration policy and are linked to social cohesion, they can work to undermine social cohesion since a 'me first' attitude harms the very structures that help build social cohesion: neighborhoods, church, and family (4.3.7). The participants noted that while integration policy promotes 'individualization', the Dutch government is promoting 'communal' values among native Dutch in order to enhance social cohesion (4.12.5). The literature supported the view that individualization has a negative impact on society making it more unequal and undemocratic, irrespective of immigration (Coffield, 1996).<sup>169</sup>

### 5.2.6 Education

Data analysis revealed agreement that education plays a vital role in the teaching of norms and values. This was supported by the participants (4.14.2), local policy (4.9)

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<sup>166</sup> See 2.6.1

<sup>167</sup> See 2.4.4.

<sup>168</sup> See 2.4.4

<sup>169</sup> See 2.7.2

and national policy (4.5). The literature analysis also confirmed this (de Beer, 2004).<sup>170</sup>

How this role is to be carried out was not clearly articulated in the literature analysis (2.7), nor in any of the data sources: not by the participants (4.14) except for one whose process was 'just learn it' (4.14.2a); not by local policy (4.9); not by national policy (4.5).

National policy did, however, address the issue of teaching norms and values through 'imitation' (4.5). Local policy agrees with the use of imitation to teach norms and values, stating that behavior should be learned in the city where values are taught; not in the classroom (4.9). However, national policy pointed out problems with 'imitation'. It stated that learning which is dependent on the behavior of others is problematic in a diverse society.<sup>171</sup> Such a society may include a variety of values systems and varied behaviors in which the majority may subscribe to the same values, yet behave differently, or not live up to the standards presented to immigrants.

The data analysis showed that individualism, as necessary to integration, is promoted by the participants (4.12.5), by national policy (4.3.5) and by local policy (4.7.3).<sup>172</sup> The literature analysis showed that there is agreement that autonomous behavior must be taught to immigrants for successful integration into a modern western society. The assumption is that many immigrants come from cultures where communal values are taught rather than individualistic ones (Mendus, 1995).<sup>173</sup> Most authors in literature argued however, that even though immigrants may act in an autonomous manner, they may still not be accepted into society (Phalet & Örkény, 2001).<sup>174</sup>

Much of the national policy argued that autonomous behavior is promoted through the use of the private market in the production and distribution of integration

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<sup>170</sup> See 2.7.2

<sup>171</sup> See discussion on diversity and social cohesion 5.2.5 and diversity 5.3.6

<sup>172</sup> See discussion 5.3.5

<sup>173</sup> See 2.7.1

<sup>174</sup> See 2.7.1

materials and courses (4.5). Data analysis showed that the participants agreed with national policy that the goal of integration policy is to teach individualism and privatization, but the manner in which this is done was criticized as ‘ridiculous’ by one participant (4.14.2a). As seen in (5.2.5), the literature analysis showed there is agreement with national policy (4.3.7) that the focus on ‘individualism’ can damage social cohesion (Delors et al, 1996).<sup>175</sup> The literature analysis showed that writers are critical of policy promotion of individualism in which success is a matter of ‘self-direction or of transmission and assimilation’ (Coffield, 1996: 85).<sup>176</sup> The ‘two-way street’ principle of helping immigrants integrate based on a homogeneous idea of culture and on the principle of imitation was also criticized in the literature (Kamali, 2000).<sup>177</sup>

The participants noted that the role of education is to promote employment, but that the focus of integration policy on education and employment has had disappointing results in the past. The participants also noted that the role of education is undermined when national policy promotes ‘education’ as the means of integrating into society, but then does not support, monetarily or otherwise, local programs to further employment (4.14.2c). The literature analysis stated that if the reasons for unemployment are structural and not located in the individual, then the emphasis on ‘individual autonomous behaviour’ is perverse (Brine, 1998).<sup>178</sup>

**Summary 5.1 – 5.2.6**

Thus, the main summary of findings from the analysis of literature and analysis of data was structured according to the six factors identified in the research question: policy; integration; norms and values; city as site of research; social cohesion; and education. The following section continues the summary, concentrating on the particular norms and values that have been analyzed in *Chapter Four*.

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<sup>175</sup> See 2.7.2

<sup>176</sup> See 2.7.1

<sup>177</sup> See 2.7.2

<sup>178</sup> See 2.7.1

### **5.3 Specific norms and values**

This summary concentrates on specific norms and values, summarizing the participant views, national and local policy. The discussion may, at times, include findings from the literature analysis, although the literature analysis did not focus on specific norms and values.

#### **5.3.1 Separation of church/state – freedom of religion**

The literature and data analysis confirmed in **5.2.3** that constitutional values are important to Dutch society. ‘Separation of church and state’ and ‘freedom of religion’ as part of the constitution, are thus valued. The participants, however, recognized the confusion newcomers might experience when ‘separation’ is constitutionally guaranteed but the fundamentals of Dutch society are based on Christian principles (**4.12.1/4.12.1a**). National policy agreed that newcomers may be confused, citing the example of a Muslim woman denied the right to wear a headscarf in court. What seemed a denial to her of religious freedom was interpreted by the court as an issue of separation of church and state (**4.3.1**). National policy also noted that these core Dutch values of ‘separation of church and state’ and ‘religious freedom’ are seen as threatened by Islamic value systems which have different interpretations of such principles (**4.3.1**).

#### **5.3.2 Freedom of speech**

As the literature and data analysis confirmed in **5.2.3**, ‘freedom of speech’ is valued in Dutch society. However, according to the participants, freedom of speech, traditionally limited by tolerance, is undergoing a discursive shift where saying whatever one wants is becoming ‘valued’. This discourse shift is directed towards immigrants, mainly Muslims, and is having a polarizing effect on society (**4.12.2**). Analysis of national policy showed that such a shift is indeed taking place. This shift may have a chilling effect on ‘dialogue’, a process considered essential to social cohesiveness (**4.3.2**), especially if the shift includes only one segment of society while other segments remain quiet.

### 5.3.3 Employment

Data analysis revealed that the participants (4.12.3), national policy (4.3.3), and local policy (4.7.1) consider employment one of the main avenues to integration. The literature supports this assertion (Cross et al, 2000; European Commission in Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; Schibel et al, 2002).<sup>179</sup> However, the participants state that structural problems and discrimination are factors which keep unemployment among newcomers high (4.12.3). National policy also recognized this (4.3.3). The participants noted a lack of support from central government for local level programs aimed at reducing unemployment among immigrants (4.12.3). Local policy also pointed this out. Programs have failed to be implemented by local government, even though employment is promoted as a way of learning responsibility (4.7.1). However, the participants questioned whether a low paid, low skilled job is really a means to integration (4.12.3).

### 5.3.4 Welfare

The data analysis showed that the participants (4.12.4) and national policy (4.3.4) agreed that Dutch society values the welfare system. Local policy confirmed the value society places on the system by noting the harsh reactions to its perceived abuse (4.7.2). The literature supported the data (2.6.2). However, participants noted that the impact of immigration and unemployment have resulted in calls for the restructuring of the system (4.12.4), which the literature acknowledged as true (Vertovec, 1997).<sup>180</sup> The participants noted that the market economy, responsibility and individualism are promoted as part of this restructuring (4.12.4). Again, the literature analysis supported this stance.<sup>181</sup>

The participants stated that being poor and being an immigrant are connected in people's minds (4.12.4) while national policy made the connection that being on welfare is considered not being 'integrated' (4.3.4). Local policy noted that the connection between poverty and immigration has resulted in a reaction against

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<sup>179</sup> See 2.3.1

<sup>180</sup> See 2.6.2

<sup>181</sup> See 2.6.2



immigrants, giving rise to far-right anti-immigrant parties, and the feeling that social cohesion is threatened (4.7.2). The literature agreed that far right groups are using immigration as a tool to scale down benefits and heighten anti-immigrant sentiment (Brochmann, 1999). The participants recognized that abuse of the system is also by the native Dutch (4.12.4).

### 5.3.5 Self-sufficiency, responsibility, individualism

The data analysis showed that autonomy is considered a central value among liberal democratic nations. The participants agreed with this (4.12.5), as did national (4.3.5) and local policy (4.7.3). The literature supported the data (Gray, 2000; Audigier, 1998).<sup>182</sup> All data groups agreed that immigrant cultures that adhere to communal values must learn autonomous behavior to survive in a competitive capitalistic society, hence the emphasis on 'autonomy' in integration policy (Mendus, 1995; Kelly, 2001).<sup>183</sup> The participants and national policy discussed autonomous behavior in different terms. The participants spoke of the need to know the Dutch language, and Dutch norms and values, in order to pass the integration exam in the country of origin, and in the Netherlands (4.12.5). National policy spelled out autonomous behavior in terms of participation in housing, employment and education, admitting that there is no standard by which to measure full participation, (hence integration), since a wide variety of lifestyles are represented in the Netherlands (4.3.5). Local policy noted a similar problem that no measurement exists as to how to measure 'autonomous' native behavior (4.7.3).

Local policy agreed with the participants and national policy when stating that communal values may be a handicap in modern westernized society (4.7.3), one that may result in a clash of values (4.3.5a). The literature agreed (Kymlicka, 2001).<sup>184</sup> National policy pointed out that historically, the Dutch pillar system was communal, and did not allow for much freedom of choice in lifestyle (4.3.5a). The literature

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<sup>182</sup> See 2.4.4

<sup>183</sup> See 2.4.4

<sup>184</sup> See 2.4.4

confirmed this (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001).<sup>185</sup> National policy, however, warned against negating communal values to adopt a ‘me-first’ attitude. This focus on individualistic behavior may not enhance social cohesion (4.3.5a), as was discussed in (5.2.5). Local policy did not point out negatives of individualism (4.7.3). The participants pointed out that while integration policy is promoting ‘individual’ values, the government is promoting ‘communal’ values among Dutch natives in order to enhance social cohesion (4.12.5). National policy warns against polarizing society by making too much of group characteristics (4.3.5a).

### 5.3.6 Diversity

All the data sources agreed that ‘diversity’ is a reality of a modern western society and is valued (4.12.7); (4.3.6); (4.7.4). The literature supported this view (Niessen, 2000).<sup>186</sup> Each data source discussed ‘diversity’ in a different context. The participants discussed diversity in the context of ethnic neighborhoods and segregation. Here, Rotterdam was criticized for proclaiming diversity while implementing a housing policy that seems to devalue those already living in the city (4.12.7). National policy discussed diversity within the context of ‘assimilation’ into the norms and values of society. The question became one of how to reconcile diversity and the range of norms and values it incorporates with assimilation of Dutch norms and values (4.3.6). Local policy discussed diversity within the context of housing policy, as did the participants. Large numbers of immigrants are equated with poverty, and therefore, local policy attempts to rescue the city from becoming poor and immigrant by diversifying the population with upper income whites (4.7.4). The literature analysis discussed the topic within yet a different context, that of the nation state and integration. Here, diversity was discussed as a threat to the nation-state whose maintenance is perceived to depend upon a homogeneous culture (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998; Parekh, 2000; Raz: 1998).

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<sup>185</sup> See 2.4.4a

<sup>186</sup> See 2.6.1

### 5.3.7 Progressive society

The participants stated that Holland values a progressive society (4.12.8). Local policy agreed with this assessment (4.7.6a). 'Tolerance' has played a part in the functioning of this progressive society in the acceptance of diverse lifestyles. The progressive nature of the society, ironically, does not facilitate political space for the expression of conservative views. The literature expresses this 'as the tolerant society has its limits' or 'how much diversity can be tolerated' (Audigier, 1998; Parekh in Vertovec, 1997; Vertovec, 1997)?<sup>187</sup> For this reason, the participants maintain that an enormous conservatism is coming out of Holland today, on the part of the native Dutch towards immigrants, possibly replacing tolerance with intolerance (4.12.8). As was asked by one participant in 5.2.3, is Holland in the process of making a 'fundamental break' with past values of tolerance (4.12.10b)?

The emancipation of women is highly valued in this progressive society according to the participants (4.12.8a) and local policy (4.7.6a). However, the participants noted how recent this emancipation is in Holland (4.12.8a), including the right of sexual orientation (4.12.8b), and that emancipation is less than fully developed in Holland (4.12.8a). Even so, many immigrant women are seen by Dutch society as adhering to traditional or conservative values, which is equated with not being integrated. Young immigrant women often seek to marry men from their country of origin in order to have more emancipated partners than they can meet in Holland. Yet getting these partners into Holland is difficult due to the new integration laws. The law, ironically, has affected more native Dutch people seeking to bring in partners than immigrants (4.12.8a). Local policy understood emancipation of women within the context of Islam and the acceptance of western values (4.7.6a). The literature supported this by stating that newcomers (Muslims) are often judged to be inferior or poorly adapted (May, 2003).<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> See 2.4.4a

<sup>188</sup> See 2.4.1

### **5.3.8 Enforcement and sanctions**

The participants (4.12.6), national policy (4.3.8) and local policy (4.7.8a) noted that enforcement and sanctions are gaining acceptance and therefore, becoming valued in Dutch society. Both the participants (4.12.6) and national policy (4.3.8) questioned if this increasing value of enforcement is only in relation to integration or if it is spreading to the entire society. This is questioned since the Dutch generally think of themselves as disdainful of enforcement and sanctions. Concern was expressed by the participants (4.12.6) and national policy (4.3.8) about the resolve and ability of the Dutch government to enforce sanctions regarding integration. The participants are concerned that lax enforcement threatens the legitimacy of the law (4.12.6). Local policy is clear that enforcement of policy sanctions is essential, promoting a 'no-nonsense approach' (4.7.8a).

## **5.4 Conclusions – main elements of the research question**

This section sets out the conclusions based on the summaries in **5.2** and **5.3**. I begin with conclusions drawn from the factors which relate to the research question: policy; integration; norms and values; city as site of research; and social cohesion, I will then draw conclusions based on individual norms and values in **5.5**. Education will be the final topic in **5.6**.

### **5.4.1 Policy**

The main conclusions that can be drawn from the policy analysis is that a shift in policy approach has occurred, from a multiculturalist one to the present ‘hands-off’, market driven approach, intended to promote self-sufficiency and individualistic behavior. Not only is this shift the result of a general societal shift towards neo-conservative principles, but it is also the result of a growing anti-immigrant sentiment in Dutch society. The national government’s reservations about its own ability to effect change, the mistrust at the local level of the central government’s ability to effect change, and the participants dismal review of effectiveness of past policy, leave a rather sobering conclusion that policy has yet to measure up to the standards it sets for itself.

### **5.4.2 Integration - assimilation**

The main conclusion drawn from the topic of integration is that the process is vague and is lacking in clarity as to when one has achieved ‘integration’. Although policy states that integration is ‘participation’, having a job and an education, it also includes the abstract elements of ‘recognition of ones duties and obligations’, ‘respect of norms and values’, and ‘living up to the unwritten rules’.<sup>189</sup> As was seen in the summary (**5.2.2a**), assimilation is the accepted approach with regards to Dutch norms and values. The problem noted is that assimilation assumes the unity of Dutch culture. Thus, education must assume the unity of culture in order to fulfill its role as the main purveyor of Dutch norms and values (**5.2.6**). Assimilation into Dutch norms and values also assumes enhanced participation in society for immigrants, which

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<sup>189</sup> See **4.2.4**

research does not yet support (5.2.6). Thus the role of education is to enhance participation in society, something that is far from proven it can do in the area of integration.

#### **5.4.3 Norms and values**

The main conclusion regarding norms and values is that, although they are found in the constitution and law, they are vague and difficult to define, especially since they include unwritten and social rules (5.2.3). As was discussed in 5.3.1, the example of the headscarf shows the complexity and paradoxes of the application of constitutional values. This complexity is not new. But in recent years, immigrants, mainly Muslims, have been at the center of the complexity and paradox, resulting in a perception that Muslims adhere to differing value systems. The issue of complexity gets lost, however, when the role of education is to assimilate newcomers into the norms and values of Dutch society. Thus, the role of education is to teach that which is not clearly defined, but to teach it as if it is. Additionally, education's role is to insist on the acceptance of the norms and values, since the inability or refusal to assimilate to the norms and values has serious consequences (5.4.1).

#### **5.4.4 City as site of research**

The conclusion about the 'city as site of research' was overwhelmingly agreed to by the literature and the collected data. The conclusion is that the focus of research on the local, and in the case of this present research, on the city of Rotterdam, is valid and worthwhile. The local is where the work of integration takes place and where the failure of integration policy is most directly felt. The question is whether or not the transfer to local control means more effective policy, or whether it creates more tensions, thus more polarization, since the local level reveals a harsher 'get-tough' attitude, the 'no nonsense approach' that national policy seems to mitigate (5.3.8). The concern again is that this local 'no nonsense' approach transfers to the teaching of Dutch norms and values (as expressed in 5.4.2), thus making education's role harsh and coercive (5.4.1).

#### **5.4.5 Social cohesion**

The conclusion reached regarding social cohesion is that there is yet another term difficult to define. Additionally, the perception exists that immigrants, specifically Muslims, are in large part responsible for a breakdown in social cohesion since they adhere to differing value systems. Here the link is made between social cohesion and the acceptance of Dutch norms and values (5.2.5). It was also argued that social cohesion is promoted when diversity is valued. The problem here for education is that if assimilation to Dutch norms and values is deemed necessary to be an integrated person, diversity cannot be valued. Assimilation devalues diversity, and thus the link is made that assimilation into the norms and values of Dutch society weakens social cohesion. Thus, education's role in this case, paradoxically, values assimilation and weakens social cohesion.

The data analysis also found that social cohesion is threatened when segments of the population are unemployed and on welfare. The promotion of individualism and self-sufficiency in integration policy is meant to help adult immigrants get jobs and stay off welfare. The role of education, then, is to promote the values of individualism and self-sufficiency in order to ensure employment and enhance social cohesion. Yet 'individualization' brings with it a corresponding de-emphasis on communal values such as family, church and neighborhood, traditionally the backbone of social cohesion. The value placed on these institutions is now considered so frail in Dutch society that the government is attempting to promote communal values among the native Dutch. This seems a conundrum for education - stressing individualism for immigrants and communal values for non-immigrants. Perhaps this is an area in which policy could develop instruments that teach both values to both groups, making integration the two-way process (5.2.2) that until now policy has failed to do. Then the role of education would be to promote the two-way street, one of the basic principles of successful integration.

## **5.5 Conclusions – norms and values**

In this section, conclusions are drawn about individual norms and values. The purpose is to show the complexity of teaching norms and values to newcomers, not only the traditional ones found in the constitution and in law but the ones that may not be recognized as a norm or value but have emerged as such from the data analysis.

### **5.5.1 Separation of church and state / freedom of religion**

‘Separation of church and state’ and ‘freedom of religion’ are guaranteed in the Dutch constitution, and therefore, it is the role of education to teach newcomers about these values. However, as was pointed out in 5.3.1, the way these values apply to specific situations in society is complex. Therefore, the role of education is to touch on this complexity, which in the example given in 5.3.1, is to show how ‘separation of church and state’ and ‘freedom of religion’ can be at odds and how in this case, ‘separation of church and state’ won the day. What assimilation may not address is why the value of ‘church and state separation’ prevailed over the equally important ‘freedom of religion’. Assimilation may not allow for complexity to emerge.

### **5.5.2 Freedom of speech**

Freedom of speech is another value guaranteed in the Dutch constitution. As with the ‘separation of church and state’, and ‘freedom of religion’, the way in which ‘freedom of speech’ is applied in society is complex. As was discussed in 5.3.2, toleration traditionally limited the boundaries of freedom of speech in Holland, while now, these boundaries are being stretched with the development of a ‘say whatever you want’ attitude. The freedom to ‘say what one wants’ is aimed at immigrants and immigration, yet the question is, are immigrants also allowed to say whatever they want? Thus, since the role of education is to assimilate newcomers into Dutch norms and values, one of which is ‘freedom of speech’, and assimilation assumes a ‘do it like us’ and ‘learn by imitating’ meaning (5.2.2a), then adult newcomers either learn that they also have the freedom to break the traditional boundaries of tolerance in freedom of speech, or they accept that native Dutch have a freedom to speak out in a



way that newcomers don't. Education's role in this area is to seek out this complexity; however, as stated above, assimilation may not allow for complexity.

### **5.5.3 Employment - welfare**

The conclusion reached from the data analysis regarding employment is that being employed is highly valued and is linked to being integrated, thus being unemployed and on welfare signals a person who is not participating in society, thus not integrated. Employment implies that one has taken on responsibility, self-sufficiency and is able to act in an autonomous manner. Education's role is to help newcomers learn the autonomy and skills for employment and stay off welfare. The focus on education to prepare adult newcomers for employment may overlook structural and discriminatory practices present in Dutch society which prevent newcomers from being hired or from being the first to be laid off. The role of education is to facilitate employment and thus protect the welfare system, but the expectation of education in this role may be too high. The role of education in readying one for employment may also be to ready the individual for the realities of Dutch society where discrimination and structural difficulties offset the possession of a degree or a diploma.

### **5.5.4 Self-sufficiency and individualism**

The conclusion reached from the data analysis is that self-sufficiency and individualism are valued, mostly for the part they assume in helping a person succeed in a modern capitalistic society. Part of education's role is to help adult newcomers succeed in Dutch society by helping them learn the value of self-sufficiency and individualistic behavior. However, since diversity exists in the native population, there is no standard regarding autonomous behavior. Not knowing a standard, makes the role of education in this area difficult. Additionally, fostering individualism means negating the communal values many immigrant cultures adhere to. Yet, as discussed in 5.4.5, autonomous or individualistic behavior may work to undermine social cohesion by promoting a 'me first' attitude which de-emphasizes the very structures social cohesion is built on, family, church, neighborhood (5.2.5), thus

making society more unequal and undemocratic. The role of education in this equation is thus complex.

Finally, integration policy promotes individualism and self-sufficiency via the integration program. The government is taking a 'hands off' approach to integration in which the adult newcomer is responsible for educating him/herself by engaging in a competitive open market. As interviewer #4 stated in **4.14.2a**, free market classes and curriculum will emerge but how is the role of education affected when there is no one checking the quality of courses? Or measuring if the free market is the most efficient way? Or looking after adult newcomers whose level is low, and are therefore bad risks for these courses? Are there courses that will suit them? And where will newcomers get the money to pay for everything?

As the Netherlands moves to privatize the integration market (Michalowski, 2004: 12), education's role in the integrative process becomes one of augmenting the open market and facilitating competition which makes questions like those above important ones to answer.

### **5.5.5 Diversity**

The conclusion reached from the data analysis is that diversity is valued in Holland but that housing policy, meant to entice middle to upper income whites into Rotterdam, devalues the diversity Rotterdam already has. This is especially true when the upper income housing projects are slated to 'diversify' what are already diverse ethnic neighborhoods. The housing policy is based on fear that Rotterdam will become poor and immigrant (**5.3.6**) and there is confused thinking about the overlap between being immigrant and poor.

There are two areas that relate to 'education' in this situation. One is mentioned by Interview #6 when speaking about immigrant children. Although 'children' are not the focus of this thesis, the participant highlights the problems of Rotterdam when discussing the situation in the schools. *...we have some areas of our city where*

*children leaving primary school are two years back on the average....* Interview #1 also discusses integration problems in Rotterdam when describing segregation in the schools...*'black' schools, very much immigrants in the city centre, white people send their children out.* Interview #6 adds... *so that's a direct problem with education in those areas.* Such a situation makes it valid to question what will be the effect of bringing more 'white' families into the city if these same families can afford to send their children to better schools in the city or suburbs? How does the city of Rotterdam housing policy that uses resources on the white upper middle class affect the teaching of the value of diversity? As Interview #5 states... *Why not invest in the people who are there?* Education's role then is to teach the value of diversity when in reality, it seems that diversity is not highly valued by the city.

This same conclusion is reached when assimilation into the norms and values of Dutch society is the goal. Since the city of Rotterdam contains a population with a 'multiformity' of value systems<sup>190</sup> such as are present in a diverse society, assimilation gives the clear message that this 'diversity' is not valued.

#### **5.5.6 Progressive society**

As noted in 5.3.7, the Netherlands values the progressive society. The progressive nature of the society, however, does not facilitate the expression of non-liberal or conservative views. Thus, the role of education is to teach the value of progressiveness, especially in the area of 'equality of men and women' and the tolerance of 'sexual orientation'. In the process, conservative views are not heard, are even devalued. Once again, this situation is the result of assimilation into the norms and values of the Dutch society. Thus, the role of education to assimilate adult newcomers into the progressive value system means a simultaneous disregard for less progressive or conservative values, and a similar disregard for the people who adhere to them.

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<sup>190</sup> See 4.3.6

### **5.5.7 Sanctions and enforcement**

In this final section, the conclusion reached regarding sanctions and enforcement is that education takes on the role of enforcer: accept the norms and values of Dutch society or take the consequences, one of which is to be sent back to the country of origin. Thus, 'education' becomes the instrument through which controls and sanctions are meted out. One participant labeled this the 'penal' approach<sup>191</sup> while policy #9 labels this approach 'coercive'.<sup>192</sup> Such approaches may motivate an adult newcomer to learn in order to pass an exam. But whether education is served positively when it is a vehicle through which enforcement of integration provisions are enacted and sanctions applied, is questionable, especially since education is only accessible on the open competitive market (5.2.6).

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<sup>191</sup> See 4.12.6

<sup>192</sup> See 4.3.8

## 5.6 Education

Conclusions about education have been made throughout the preceding section (5.5). These conclusions include the importance education has in the integrative process, first and foremost in the teaching of norms and values to adult newcomers. This process is overwhelmingly considered a process of assimilation by the data sources. The conclusion reached here is that assimilation does not allow the complexity of the meaning of norms and values to be addressed, a situation that makes the role of education one of simplifying 'values', thus making them 'ideal'. Examples of complexity were given in 5.3.1, in the case of the headscarf relating to the 'separation of church and state' and 'freedom of religion', and in the case of 'toleration' and 'freedom of speech' (5.3.2), relating to 'saying whatever one wants'.

Another conclusion reached is that the role of education in integration policy is to help adult newcomers learn skills for employment and thus avoid welfare (5.5.3). However, structural and discriminatory practices often thwart this goal which makes education's role one of preparing adult newcomers for employment a possibly elusive one, not due to the qualifications held but rather due to 'who a person is'.<sup>193</sup> In 5.5.4, the role of education in integration policy is to promote self-sufficiency and individualism in order to help newcomers participate in a modern competitive society. Yet, facilitating success in the competitive arena may weaken communal values that give structure to social cohesion, and to equality and democracy. In 5.5.5, the role of education was to promote diversity. This role is undermined by the city of Rotterdam's housing policy which devalues the diversity already present in the city. This role is also undermined by the process of assimilation to Dutch norms and values, a process that devalues the 'multiformity of values'<sup>194</sup> present in the larger Dutch society. In 5.5.6, education's role is to teach the values of the progressive society, a role which negates conservative or less liberal values. And in 5.5.7, education's role is to enforce, thus becoming an instrument of punishment.

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<sup>193</sup> See 4.3.3

<sup>194</sup> See 4.8.7

Not mentioned in the preceding summaries are several other conclusions concerning the role of education. As stated in 4.5, the clarity expressed in national policy that education has a role in teaching norms and values is *not* marked by a similar clarity in how this should be accomplished. One process that is discussed in national policy is that of ‘imitation’. As was stated in 4.5, the transfer of norms and values is most dependent on ‘imitation’ of both good and bad behavior. Policy also understands that assimilation into society’s norms and values means assimilation to the ‘unwritten’ or ‘social rules’, rules which make it easier for people to co-exist and are often implicitly understood by the majority society (5.2.3). Yet in 4.5, it was argued that the resident population in the Netherlands is diverse in terms of values and behavior, and doesn’t always live up to the standards presented to the immigrants. Even if people say they hold similar values, their behavior may differ – in other words, people don’t practice what they preach. The question then becomes how does an adult newcomer decide which behavior to imitate? What group or individual serves as the ‘model’ to learn from? This question is at the heart of education’s role in teaching norms and values through imitation.

#### **5.6.1 Education - hidden messages and goals**

In this section, conclusions are made in relation to the hidden messages and goals found in integration policy concerning the role of education in teaching norms and values. Several participants acknowledged that the over-riding goal of the integration policy was different from the stated goal of ‘helping adult newcomers integrate’. They saw the real intent of integration policy... *in recent Dutch policy developments...as a tool for immigration control* (Interview #8). Interview #4...*In reality, they use it as a proxy for stricter immigration policy. They use an instrument to pretend it is an instrument of integration policy, but in practical terms, it is actually a policy of immigration.* Interview #9 agreed. *The new government...sees a more restricted immigration policy as part of making integration policy work.* Interview #11 wondered if Holland might be setting a trend in *using integration requirements as an instrument in immigration control*. Local policy agreed with this assessment (4.7.8).

None of the participants or local policy commented directly on how the role of education might be affected by a situation in which the 'stated' goal is not the 'real' goal of policy. The goal to shut down or severely curtail immigration is accomplished by constructing the highest possible barriers to immigration and integration. These barriers effectively make the role of education one of 'exclusion' rather than one of 'inclusion'.

The real intent of policy is also questioned by Interview #4 who asked...*If you see yourself as a fully-fledged immigration country, you have to develop integration policy. The aim of integration policy is, well, to emancipate people or give them better opportunities. There's blah, blah, blah, nice objectives...but the key question is who is going to do the dirty work after that? Of course, nobody is going to say we keep them dumb because who else is going to do their work?* In this comment, Interview #4 is implying that beneath the surface of 'blah blah' objectives lie other objectives that are too harsh to be stated.

'Goals' that are not stated, as those above, are one thing. Messages to the adult immigrant that are hidden are another. Interview #9 discussed the 'obligation' the Dutch government puts on immigrants to integrate and the 'effort' this obligation requires, as mentioned in 4.14.2a...*the obligation is more the effort. We ask you, we 'oblige' you to do the effort. We want you to do the effort to get to this level (pass the integration exam).* Interview #11 recognized that...*putting the stress on the efforts the migrant has to make is a way of pointing at the 'unwillingness of migrants' to integrate.* Focusing on the 'unwillingness' of the immigrants, results in a strong message that you 'must' integrate. Interview #4 stated that by *constantly stressing the need 'you must integrate' and you 'must do so and so', the opposite of what they (Rotterdam city government) want to happen, might happen. They don't see how they alienate many migrants through their powerful and strong language, how they alienate them from the local community. That is the most risky development, I think.* The risky development Interview #4 refers to is that hidden messages serve to

alienate rather than include, thus illuminating once again the role of education as one of exclusion rather than inclusion.

The discussion above asks how hidden goals and messages, often negative in their meaning, affect the stated educational goals of promoting integration. The policy states that integration is the goal, but actually immigration control is the goal. Policy intends to emancipate, but who is to do the dirty work? Policy stresses 'effort' and by so doing gives a strong message that 'you don't want to integrate', thus alienating the very groups who are the focus of policy.

Another question that arises with regard to education and 'norms and values' is whether the hidden messages and goals affect an adult newcomer's understanding of Dutch norms and values. For example, if hidden messages and goals are not so well hidden, what effect does that transparency have on those trying to learn Dutch norms and values through imitation? Is deception valued? Is it something to be imitated? This same question can be asked with regards to many of the norms and values analyzed and the answer affects education's role in teaching norms and values.

## **5.7 Implications for future research**

This section looks at the implications for future research. As was previously stated (1.3), integration policies are not finalized with regards to the teaching of norms and values. This means that future research may look specifically at education in a 'formal' sense, meaning that the structures of 'classroom', 'teacher and students', and 'curriculum' are present. However, as was mentioned, classes will not be organized nor facilities provided by the Dutch government; all courses for adult newcomers will need to be accessed on the open market. This situation will, in itself, provide a wealth of research opportunities.

Another issue for research is the impact immigration has on the liberal society. Modood refers to 'restrictive' cultures as 'a resource for those beyond their



membership' (2001: 255). I interpret this to mean that progressive societies, such as that of the Netherlands, often 'dismiss' the more restrictive or conservative cultures as 'dangerous' rather than see these cultures as 'resources', for example, a resource of 'communal' values. Future research might examine how restrictive, non-liberal cultures with their conservative sets of norms and values impact liberal cultures, perhaps resulting in a curbing of what some call 'liberal excesses'. This is the opposite of what is commonly researched at the present time: the way in which conservative values are moderated over time as second and third generation immigrants are influenced by liberal norms and values. From whatever angle the research is initiated, it would involve what Rassol considers cultural differences 'in terms of the possibilities that it provides for the articulation of new identities and cultural values' (1998: 95).

Another topic of interest is the way in which the norms and values debate has taken on the role that 'war' has had/has as a unifying factor for the state or society. Pizzorno discusses how 'war' acts to make new boundaries prominent and the identification with the state stronger or inescapable (in Bourdieu & Coleman, 1991: 223-26). The debate on norms and values functions in a similar way, making 'identity' separate from 'others', strengthening the identification with the state and pulling various identities into a whole (Huntington, 1993). Just as with war, a temporary united front emerges, but what are the longer term consequences to society of using norms and values, not to unify, but to divide and differentiate between those who belong and those who don't?

Research might also examine education's role in teaching norms and values in their complexity, as was mentioned in 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, the example cited of the headscarf and the conflict between freedom of religion and the separation of church and state. Such research might examine the complexity of constitutionally guaranteed values, such as the right to attend religiously affiliated schools<sup>195</sup>, in this case Islamic

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<sup>195</sup> Article 23 of the Dutch constitution

schools, which may paradoxically function to isolate and segregate rather than integrate (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

The final suggestion for research is one which I find particularly interesting, which concerns the way that education can be more openly supportive of the integration process as a two-way street. As was mentioned in 5.4.5, education might further the 'individualization' process for those newcomers inclined towards the communal, while simultaneously stimulating communal values among non-immigrants inclined towards individualistic behavior. This type of research relies on a basic understanding that education's role in the teaching of norms and values acknowledges a '*common endeavour*' in which both newcomers and the receiving society strive to meet the standards set by the country's norms and rules (Inbergernet.nl). The idea is that education engages both newcomers and natives in a 'striving', not in something that is finished or concretized; as Stratton & Ang state, the process is one 'of becoming' (1998: 157). This openness to 'striving' and 'becoming' recognizes what Menand states: '...the stamp of the West is all over the rest of the world, and the rest of the world is now putting its stamp on the West' (98: 2004).

## **5.8 Personal reflection on research**

The completion of the thesis allows time to reflect on what I have learned from this lengthy and, often times, frustrating experience as a doctoral student. In a technical sense, I am confident that I now understand basic research methodologies and their application. I have developed a keener sense of evaluation of research and findings, including my own. I am confident that I can set a goal, such as the completion of a chapter, within a particular period of time, and accomplish that goal. This research enhanced my sense of self as a researcher. I am pleased that a topic I found of interest nearly four years ago has mushroomed into a national and internationally important topic, instilling confidence that I can recognize topics of critical interest. I have always known I could tackle individual projects and see them through to completion,

but the size and duration of this project have made me even more aware of that ability.

I am fortunate that the topic I chose sustained my interest throughout. The research and the writing have been challenging. At times, I feared I might not pull it all together, but it was never boring. I continue to be interested in this topic and am excited to see where the pursuit of it will take me in the future.

There have been many personal challenges throughout the years I have been involved in this research. I feel a great sense of accomplishment, that despite those challenges, I completed this project.

As to the topic itself, 'the role of education in teaching norms and values to adult newcomers', I have learned how complex the issue is, and how policy and the general public, perhaps through necessity, simplify it. As an educator, I feel challenged to make this complexity available to newcomers of all ages, as well as others interested or involved in the integration process, through further personal research or through the designing and teaching of courses on the subject.

I have also come to fully appreciate the importance of an advisor who has the critical expertise to evaluate my work, and a genuine concern to see me succeed.

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## Appendix I

Following is a sample list of headlines detailing protests and delays which plagued the implementation of the new integration policy.

19 January 2004      *Dutch integration policy 'failed' - migrants succeeded*

12 March 2004 – *Where's the incentive to integrate?* 'Common sense is distinctly lacking in Dutch immigration policy. Take for example Immigration Ministry plans to conduct integration exams over the phone, requiring would-be immigrants to receive a PIN number from a Dutch diplomatic mission in their home country. The foreigner will use the pin number when an examiner in the Netherlands rings them to test their grasp of the Dutch language and culture. The pin number is designed to ensure they are not cheating by getting someone else to take the exam, but would it be nitpicking to suggest this is not exactly a fool-proof plan? ...half-baked initiatives are being tossed around'.

18 June 2004 - *Cabinet urged to dilute integration demands*

28 July 2004 - *Councils predict failure of Dutch integration policy.* Municipal councils claim the government's plans to force immigrants to integrate will fail and delay rather than accelerate the integration process.

26 October 2004 – *Doubts over legality of Dutch integration policy.* The Dutch government's plan to make it compulsory for all immigrants to integrate has run into legal difficulties, with three studies indicating that the implementation of the new system could prove unworkable.

1 November 2004      *Integration exam foolish and ridiculous*

6 December 2004      *MPs slam integration plan for Dutch people*

7 December 2004      *Verdonk scales back integration course target*

## References

Expatica: [www.expatica.com](http://www.expatica.com)

**Appendix II**

**Dates of interviews**

Length approximately one hour

Interview #1	15 April 2004
Interview #2	4 June 2004
Interview #3	14 June 2004
Interview #4	01 July 2004
Interview #5	14 July 2004
Interview #6	16 September 2004
Interview #7	23 December 2004
Interview #8	13 January 2005
Interview #9	15 June 2005
Interview #10	25 August 2005
Interview #11	various e-mail contacts

## Appendix III

### Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

#### Participant Information Sheet (PIS)

**Researcher:**

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**Title of Project:**

An analysis of integration policies in Rotterdam: education's role in helping newcomers to integrate through the teaching of norms and values.

**To the participant:**

In my research on settlement policies in Rotterdam, your name has been mentioned as someone I would benefit from interviewing because of your involvement in issues relating to the project described above. You are or have been a policy advisor or researcher or have been involved in relevant community issues. I am grateful to you for taking the time to share some of this knowledge with me. I would like you to know that:

- All tapes and/or written transcripts will be destroyed at the end of the research, the date projected to be March 2006.
- You may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time.
- If the information you provide is reported or published, this will be done in a way that does not identify you as its source.
- You may withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason.
- The researcher (myself) alone reviews the data.
- Participation is voluntary.
- You may contact the head of the Ed.D course for the School of Education if you have any further questions:

Professor Michael Byram  
Director of Ed.D  
Contact number: 44 191 374 3530  
E-mail: [m.s.byram@durham.ac.uk](mailto:m.s.byram@durham.ac.uk)

Approved by Durham University Ethics Advisory Committee

**CONSENT FORM**

**TITLE OF PROJECT:**  
**An analysis of integration policies in Rotterdam: education's role in helping newcomers to integrate through the teaching of norms and values.**

(The participant should complete the whole of this sheet himself/herself)

*Please cross out  
as necessary*

Have you read the Participant Information Sheet? YES / NO

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and to discuss the study? YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions? YES / NO

Have you received enough information about the study? YES / NO

Whom have you spoken to? Dr/Mr/Mrs/Ms/Prof. ....

Do you consent to participate in the study? YES/NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:

- \* at any time and
- \* without having to give a reason for withdrawing?

YES / NO

Do you understand that all tapes and transcriptions will be destroyed at the end of this project?

YES/NO

**Signed** ..... **Date** .....

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS) .....

## Appendix IV

Sample interview sheet and six guiding factors<sup>196</sup> (*policy/integration/norms and values/city as site of research/education/social cohesion*)

1. What has been your involvement in integration policy planning or its execution? (*policy/integration*)
2. Do you think integration policy assumes most newcomers hold values that differ from those the Dutch government wants to promote? (*policy/norms and values/integration*)
3. Are self-sufficiency and autonomy values that are fundamental to the integration process as seen by the Dutch government? (*integration/norms and values*)
4. Could you elaborate on what the government means by self-sufficiency and autonomy and how the process of integration is expected to promote these values? (*integration/norms and values*)
5. Other values have been mentioned as important to the integration process: equal opportunity, fairness, respect for personal autonomy, respect for diversity, social cohesion and economic efficiency ... is integration policy explicit about these values? What is your view about policy trying to promote these values through policy? (*policy/integration/values and norms/social cohesion*)
6. Do you feel the 'mandatory' nature of the settlement courses impart certain values? (*policy/norms and values*)
7. What are the most important norms and values that need to be taught? (*norms and values/education*)
8. How can education be a force in teaching Dutch norms and values? (*norms and values/education*)
9. What does integration mean? (*integration*)
10. Is integration a 'two way street' as defined in some policies? (*policy/integration*)
11. Is there anything you would like to add? Do you have any further contacts to suggest? Or readings?

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<sup>196</sup> See **1.2** and **1.3**, and Literature Analysis-Chapter Two for explanation of how these six factors were used as guides for the analysis. *City as site of research* was of implied importance since the interviews and policies focused on Rotterdam.



## **Appendix V**

### **Applications of sanctions as stated in integration policy**

*As a matter of principle, municipalities are obliged to uphold the law. The main sanction included in the bill is that municipalities may impose administrative fines for failing to pass the exam within the specified time, which will be three and a half years for immigrants who have successfully completed the pre-arrival integration tests in their country of origin and five years for all others.*

### **References**

[http://www.justitie.nl/english/press/press\\_releases/archive/archive\\_2005/50330dutch\\_cabinet\\_agrees\\_to\\_new\\_integration\\_act.asp](http://www.justitie.nl/english/press/press_releases/archive/archive_2005/50330dutch_cabinet_agrees_to_new_integration_act.asp)

### **Personal responsibility**

*The principle of personal responsibility will be at the basis of the new system. Immigrants having to take the test will have to take the initiative to complete it. Participants can purchase a course on the market of providers and, as a rule, will have to bear the costs of integration themselves. To this end, the government will create a credit facility. It is of the utmost importance for these newcomers that they have a good command of the Dutch language and learn the language as quickly as possible in order to be able to participate in Dutch society. Failure to pass the test will affect their residence status.*

*Immigrants required to take the test – especially newcomers – will only be eligible for an independent residence permit and/or a permanent residence permit (regular or asylum) once they have passed the integration examination.*

### **References**

[http://www.justitie.nl/english/press/press\\_releases/archive/archive\\_2004/301204integration.asp](http://www.justitie.nl/english/press/press_releases/archive/archive_2004/301204integration.asp)

## Appendix VI

### Information on *Knowledge of Dutch* society in-country exam

#### Knowledge of Dutch Society

The component Knowledge of Dutch Society will consist of a film and 30 questions. The film will be about the Netherlands. You will watch the film at home. You can choose from a number of different languages.

You will be asked questions about the film. All questions and answers will be in Dutch.

You can study all of the questions and answers at home. During the examination at the embassy, you will be asked to answer 30 questions. You will be given a booklet with pictures to do this. Each question corresponds to one specific photo. You will hear the questions one by one through the telephone. You will give your answers via the telephone. Please note: you will have to turn the pages of the album yourself.

#### References

[http://www.justitie.nl/english/Themes/more\\_themes/Civic\\_Integration\\_Abroad\\_Act/Preparing\\_for\\_the\\_Basic\\_Examination.asp](http://www.justitie.nl/english/Themes/more_themes/Civic_Integration_Abroad_Act/Preparing_for_the_Basic_Examination.asp)

#### Preparing for the Knowledge of Dutch Society examination

The Knowledge of Dutch Society examination tests whether you have watched the film and learned the questions. You can prepare yourself for this examination using the materials provided in the examination package. Please find below a step-by-step plan with some tips that you may find useful:

1. Watch the film in your own language as often as necessary.
2. Afterwards, watch the film again, but now in the Dutch language.
3. Watch the film per theme in your own language and then in the Dutch language.
4. Practise answering the questions from the photo booklet on each of the themes. Listen to the CD, while at the same time reading the written questions and answers.
5. Listen to the questions on the CD. Repeat the answers.
6. Put the paper to one side! (In the examination, you will only be given a photo album and will only hear the questions. You will not be given any written questions)

7. Practise the questions and answers as often as possible and as often as you need to (practising once will not be enough. You must practise at least 4 times, until you are able to pronounce all of the answers properly).
8. Practise answering the questions by mixing them up, not just in the order given.
9. Speak aloud when practising: slowly and clearly.
10. Try to practise a lot using the telephone, either with your partner or someone else who speaks Dutch, focus on your pronunciation, speak clearly and not too soft.
11. Also practise the start of the examination. Watch the last part of the film again 'how the examination goes'. You will hear the following: 'Say the name of the city and country where you are now'. Say the name of your city and country.
12. Watch the film again several times in the Dutch language. Now that you are familiar with the questions, you will understand far more. This also enables you to learn many of the words you will need for the language examination.

Good luck!



## References

<http://www.thiememeulenhoff.nl/documentenservice/pagina.asp?pagkey=537832>

## Appendix VII

Debate schedule Islam and Integration, Rotterdam-Spring 2005

2 Feb	<b><u>Wij en zij-gevoel bij moslims en niet-moslims</u></b> We-they feeling between Muslims and non-Muslims. How large is the distance between Muslims and non-Muslims?
9 Feb	<b><u>Waarden en normen in rechtsstaat en islam</u></b> Values and norms in democratic states and Islam. Do Muslims and non-Muslims have a different approach to norms and values? If so, how can this be bridged?
16 Feb	<b><u>Positie van de vrouw/gelijkheid der seksen/ homoseksualiteit</u></b> Position of the woman/equality of sexes/homosexuality. Must Muslims openly accept homosexuality?
23 Feb	<b><u>De islam als nieuwe religie in Rotterdam/ kerk en staat</u></b> Islam as a new religion in Rotterdam/church and state. Minarets in the Rotterdam skyline? Do Muslims feel more connection with Islam than with Dutch society?
2 March	<b><u>Onderwijs en economische situatie</u></b> Education and economic situation. Is there discrimination at work? How can we improve our chances on the labor market?
8 March	<b><u>Positie van de vrouw/gelijkheid der seksen</u></b> Position of the woman/equality of the sexes. Is it a curse or a blessing?
16 March	<b><u>Onderwijs en economische situatie</u></b> Education and economic situation. How do we improve possibilities of youngsters to better their education and find jobs?
23 March	<b><u>Veiligheid en terreur</u></b> Safety and terrorism. Are Muslims wrongly accused of crime? What gives a feeling of unsafety and how can this be reduced?
6 April	<b><u>Slotdebat: afspraken over Rotterdams Burgerschap</u></b> Final debate: agreement about Rotterdam citizenship.

## Expert Meetings Schedule

23 September 2004 - 10 October 2004

1. Wij en zij (We and they)
2. Waarden en normen (Values and norms)
3. De islam als religie in Rotterdam (Islam as a religion in Rotterdam)
4. De positie van moslimvrouwen (The position of Muslim women)
5. Zelforganisaties (Self-organizations)
6. Onderwijs en economische situatie (Education and economic situation)
7. De rol van de media (The role of the media)

Datum	Onderwerp (Issue)	Voor (For)	Voertaal (Language)	Aantal bezoekers (attendees)
23 09 2004	De islam in Nederland	Jongeren algemeen	Nederlands	± 100
26 09 2004	Maatschappelijke participatie (integration in society)	Turkse jongeren	Turks	± 80
01 10 2004	Dialoog en tolerantie	Turken	Turks	± 200
02 10 2004	Toekomstperspectief (Future)	Marokkanen	Arabisch	± 180
3 10 2004	De moslima	Turkse vrouwen	Turks	± 60
03 10 2004	De moslima	Marokkaanse vrouwen	Arabisch	± 30
04 10 2004	Rol van de imam	Imams	Arabisch	Niet bekend
08 10 2004	Krachten (power) binnen Somalische gemeenschap (society)	Somaliërs	Somalisch	± 50
09 10 2004	Krachten binnen Turkse gemeenschap	Turken	Turks	± 50
10 10 2004	De moslima	Somalische vrouwen	Somalisch	± 60
10 10 2004	Moslim zijn in Rotterdam	Marokkanen	Arabisch	± 550

## References

<http://www.rotterdam.nl/Rotterdam/Internet/Overig/rdm/Bureau%20sociale%20integratie/PSIsamenvatinternedeb.pdf>

<http://www.rotterdam.nl/smartsite.dws?Menu=2045343&MainMenu=267127,%20267127&id=2044892>

## **Appendix VIII – Transcript Sample Interview**

**HE**

**July 1, 2004**

Mk - Confirms focus: education, adult immigrants newly arrived. Reception program...

HE - Gives me his recently completed unpublished paper for the German government. – will be published after the summer.

HE – I did a paper for the German government, recently, very recently, struggling with the same questions, this will be published after the summer. They will be adopting new legislation next week which includes legislation on programmes for newly arrived immigrants. They have need, one of their consultative councils to do an overview of these courses in the Netherlands and also in other European countries. Its more elaborated on the Netherlands, and I did a bit on the UK, and Denmark also because they are two extremes in the way they interpret and perceive these courses; UK sees these programs as primarily an integration policy which eventually leads to (????) naturalization, whereas Denmark uses them more like Netherlands as a hidden way, hidden instrument in their immigration policy. So as to make these policies more selective and to keep people with low education out, but it would be against all sorts of European and international treaties to select immigrants on that basis; that is not all immigrants; labour immigrants is fine, but for family immigration let alone refugees, it would be a violation of all sorts of treaties to select them on the basis of their qualifications and their capacity to learn the language, so that's why they do it in a sort of indirect way, which I think, well, the courts in Luxemburg or Strasburg will eventually decide if this is something feasible, acceptable from a juridical point of view.

Mk – So that will be looked at?

HE – Yes, there is no doubt about that, but in the meantime, the policies being implemented may have to be referred at some stage, actually, it has served the informal ... for Denmark is about two years ahead of the Netherlands in this and Denmark, it's already visible that the number of immigrants has dropped dramatically because most people don't want to attend these very long and rather strenuous courses, so they simply don't come anymore, or they come illegally, or they get married in Sweden and then somehow manage to enter into Denmark. There are lots of ways to circumvent it, and I've heard that in the wake of the introduction of the stricter rules in the Netherlands, immigration has now been soaring simply because people fear that later on it won't be possible, quite a normal effect..

Mk – So immigration has actually gone up?

HE – Ya. That's what I've been told. Haven't looked myself at the latest numbers, I would not be surprised. After all it's a bit contradictory because there was in the newspapers, saw the other day, that 2003 was the first year since 20 years where net migration was just below zero, so more people out than in; that is a fact, but that is due to the fact that so many Dutch citizens are leaving the country, many of them settle just across the border in Belgium or Germany because housing is cheaper than here; that's a tax facility, and that blurs a little bit the fact that non-European migration is still... more or less the same pace. So it's not just that there are more non-Dutch people entering the country, on top of that, Dutch people leave the country. That's the way it happens in a globalizing world.

Mk – One question I had for you, you said 'policies may be integration policies but their hidden objectives may be window dressing or worse'....so, does that fit into what you were just saying, that something is being said but there are things behind it...

HE – Definitely, certainly, there are the big things and the small things, actually the reason why Germany has waited so long before it actually acknowledged that it is a country of immigration, one of the reasons is that *if you see yourself as a fully fledged immigration country, you have to develop integration policy, and the aim of an integration policy normally is well, to emancipate people or to give them better opportunities, there's also blah blah, nice objectives of such a policy, but the key question is who is going to do the dirty work after that? Of course nobody is going to say we keep them dumb because who else is going to do their work...(5.61).*

Mk – You mean low skilled ...

HE – Ya. So that can be a consideration which obviously governments will never use, for obvious reasons, because no government will ever say we keep part of our population innocent and uneducated because we need that sort of people because they have to do work that otherwise nobody will do; otherwise, we have to hire new migrants but nobody will say that, that's the type of things I was actually aiming at, but here too, they present it as an instrument in immigration, these language courses and integration policy, but in reality, this is the direction into which this is developing now, here in this country. *In reality they use it as a proxy for stricter immigration policy (5.6.1)* which, I mean, it would be much fairer if they would say, we make our immigration policy stricter, and nobody would really object to that. Nobody really disputes the sovereign right of a state to determine and to decide who can come and who can not come. The US too, even the most open immigration countries such as Canada, have a policy; they vary from one country to another, but they have mechanism and instruments with which they can say you can come and you cannot come. Everybody will understand that. But the point here is *they use an instrument, pretend it is an instrument of integration policy, but in practical situations, it is actually a policy of immigration policy (5.6.1).*

Mk – Do you have ideas on why that would be?



HE- Because if they would present it as a fully fledged instrument of immigration policy, they would act against the European treaty of Human Rights and a number of other international treaties, to which surprisingly the US is not a party....and even Canada, it's not a European country, so I don't think Canada....I'm not sure, the right to family life is not a human right, is it?

Mk – I think they try to argue that it is.

HE - But here there is a lot of Jurisprudence before the European court of Human Rights, in Strasbourg, I believe it's article 8 of the European Human Rights Treaty, very explicit in the right to family life to migrants. And the debate can be how many years before a family can join a migrant, but there is no doubt they have a right to do so; in fact, it brought in additional requirements that tried to discourage the migrants from letting the family members come, and there's two things of course, there are those who are already married or who have a spouse or family, and who come first themselves and then let their spouse and family join them, and then there are those find a spouse in the foreign country, as you know is a big issue here right now, it's maybe two-thirds of all Turks or Moroccans young people, find a husband or wife in Turkey or Morocco and let them come over, we are talking about several thousands per year, and one of the ideas, just like in Denmark, to make it more difficult for them, by imposing additional requirements, spouse to come from country of origin (????) initially, *nobody had realized that the majority of foreign brides and grooms are not Dutch or Moroccan but Dutch people who find a spouse in another country; for them it's becoming more difficult as well; otherwise it would be discriminatory of course (4.3.8a)*. But this is the type of struggles that are currently that we are going through.

Mk – To cut down on immigration now is maybe okay in the short term, but in the long term?

HE –That's another point.

Mk – Are these policies that are happening right now, short term?

HE - The point is, there is little misunderstanding say that in the long run, say after 2010, all Europeans countries, some a little sooner some a little later, will need more workers because of the demographic changes. But the problem is most of the people we are getting now, and who have legally entered the country, are not, do not have the qualifications which the labor market needs; *there is a mismatch between the qualifications of the people who enter as spouses and refugees on the one hand, and the qualifications that are needed (4.4.1)* on the one hand, and will be needed in the future. *The problem is that we don't have adequate instruments to re-qualify these people who do enter anyway (4.4.2c)* or to give them the qualifications they actually need. Because that would also be a way to solve these problems; it is a bit strange that unemployment is (???) and *reliance on social security is relatively high; (4.3.4)* it's paradoxical, and among migrants who actually are able to enter the country legally free to come in and set up, many of them have difficulty finding a job even though we

shouldn't over estimate that as a problem as sometime happens, that's come under research of cohorts, it turns out that after five years of settlement for those who entered, in the course of the 1990's, five years after the settlement, the spouses or refugees, the employment rate, particularly for the spouses, the employment rate is only slightly below the average employment rate for the employment rate for the population as a whole. So, eventually, most of them find work. Actually, *it's a bit of hype at this moment, the idea is that all these people who come as spouses never find work and that's simply not true* (4.3.4).

Mk - Is there another mismatch between what is being said and what is meant, having to do with the kind of immigrants coming in, not only their qualifications, but also the countries they are from, their religious backgrounds?

HE - Sure. I don't think that's any different from the US...? It has been reinforced by events of September 11, more particularly in the Netherlands by Pim Fortuyn episode; all this, I mean, many of us still find it hard to understand what exactly has caused this turn around in thinking in this country, but for a long time, at first, initially, immigration was seen as something temporary, so there was no need integrate people, (????) then the next step was *the Netherlands as a multicultural society, and wonderful example to be emulated by the whole world, but this multiculturalism, whatever, you can interpret that in many ways, and there were discussions whether it was really multiculturalism or not. It also served in my view too readily, as a sort of excuse for not incorporating these migrants, and leaving them sort of on the sideline, well, cherishing their own culture, without really accepting them as mainstream society* (4.3.10a), well, *one could argue that the recent shift, sort of breaks clearly with the respectful attitudes that also prevailed in that period, but also it may be taken as a sign that it has become clear to many, that this sort of benign neglect is no longer possible* (4.3.10a), and they are so numerous now particularly in cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam, that you can't simply ignore the presence of these communities, by defining them as being on the sideline of society; they are society in the urban context, so you have to take them seriously. *And then the real clashes come, of course and then, who has got to adapt to whom? And in the past that have been, postponed the answer to that question by pretending that everyone preserve his or her own initial identity. It's only fairly recently, I think, that awareness has come,* (4.3.10a), I mean, in a country like the US that awareness has existed much longer, *that in order to be a true society, to function as a society or country or local society, you need to have certain things, to share certain values, have certain points of identification in common; that is what the debate is about right now.* (4.2).

Mk - When people say 'share values', certain people say, values are clear, it is how we think about things....values are simple, get a job, learn the language, and don't commit crime. So in some views, it's very simple.

HE - I think there is little disagreement about those values. I mean, *everyone sees getting a job, participating in the labour market, as the royal way towards integration.* (4.3.3) The trouble is there are not enough jobs, and particularly not

enough jobs especially which are suitable for people with the qualifications that these people have. So, we have to work on that a little bit, and *there is an impression among some, well, Pastorites, or Pastorial people, that these people are too lazy to work or don't want to work for some reason or other.* (4.3.3) No doubt, there will be migrants too, who fall into that stereotype but for the vast majority, it is simply not possible to find a job, partly, it is the major reason, here locally, there is clearly a mismatch, the population of *Rotterdam*, are not... so many people of immigrant origin, has low education and the labor market has been restructured. There used to be many low paid jobs and but a lot of jobs for the uneducated, *the harbor was still employing many people, but right now, all this has been automatised in the recent decades,* (4.3.3) so there is very little work actually. Like everywhere else in the western world, most jobs are for knowledge workers, the more highly educated; there simply, that doesn't fit, that is a serious problem; if you recognize, acknowledge that having a job is important, I think it should be the responsibility for local authorities to create opportunities for these people to actually get jobs, and there is a big difference, and the problems here of course, is that it has little to do with, well, it goes beyond the responsibilities of the local authorities, because why is it that, even in comparison to the US, in most European countries, and certainly in the stronger welfare states, there are so few jobs at the lower skills level, lower payment levels. That's because we have very high minimum wage, so your productivity has to be really high if you wish to qualify for an ordinary job and, of course, we've had all sorts of schemes, work fair-like schemes, they are usually much more expensive and simply paying these people social security, moral of work may be higher because it gives them a feeling of belonging to society. In the US where minimum wage is a lot lot lower than it is here, where many immigrants, at least most immigrants, at least formerly ( ...individual differences) per city, in principle do not qualify for social security, *the labor market can really serve as a springboard for integration,* (4.3.3) but here you need to have so many qualifications, and *need to be so well skilled as a newly arriving person,* (4.3.3) in order to have a fair chance that its very difficult, and that explains why so many are outside the labor market, so it's not just a matter of oh, bad luck, or lack of willingness, or whatever, its also related to the structure of the labor market.

So, that's ... about language, well indeed, ten years ago, and this has dramatically changed, but 10 years ago when I came up with a proposal which was hotly debated along with a colleague ... in this country to introduce these mandatory courses where we claimed that knowledge of the local language had been underestimated as a factor in integration, out of a sort of misplaced cultural relativism, and when we brought that forwards 10 years ago, we got half the population falling over us and jumping on us that this should not be done, let alone on a mandatory basis. *Now it is simply commonly accepted that people should learn the language, but now the debate is whose responsibility is that* (4.3.5) because as I see it, I've always seen it and see it now too, if the state imposes on people that they should learn the language, the state is responsible for creating an appropriate infrastructure to enable these people to learn the language; you can have compulsory education in a country, but if the state does not make sure that there is a good school system, it would be a bit silly to impose a

compulsory education on citizens. *But this government argues, (4.3.5) and (4.4.2a) this was the line of argument until three years ago, but the present government has many sympathizers with the Pastorites, who argue it is the migrants own responsibility that they learn the language (4.3.5) and (4.4.2a); the only obligation is that they have to pass an exam, and most of the infrastructure which has been developed over the past years will be discontinued(4.4.2a). Well, they expect language courses will emerge in the free market, and they definitely will, of course, but what is the quality of these courses and who's going to check the quality? And is that really the most efficient way and will those whose level of knowledge or who's initial level is low, and therefore are bad risks actually for these courses, will they have a fair chance to find the course that suits them, and if they have to pay for these courses themselves, where are they going to get the money from (4.4.2a) and (5.5.4)? And they say, well, a system of loans should be set up at the local level, but nobody is going to pay for loans for these people to learn language courses because the national government says so. That's the debate.*

Mk – Yes...this system is going to create a whole different bureaucracy.

HE- It's not the courses bureaucracy because that is one of the, and quite rightly I think, one of the things that the present politicians sort of reproach the previous lot, those who actually introduced these courses because they've become over-bureaucratized, and that is true about roughly half of the money spent per participant goes to overhead. But that's also partly the local authorities have fumbled (??) because when they were first introduced it became clear that ... there was money available...and I've seen it not so much in Rotterdam, but in Utrecht, or very near by, what happens then, within the local government, the department of education says but this is typically 'education' so we must be involved, and the department of citizens affairs says this is typically 'citizen's affairs', and the same for the social work department, and the same for the employment department and they all claim that they must be involved, so before you realize it, you have a whole sort of complex arrangement and it's different in every local authority, and I can understand there have been assessments and evaluations showing that it was over bureaucratized. I'm not sure if there are plans now developing with the appropriate answer to that problem.

Mk- Government site said after you take the exam and then you will be 'integrated'?

HE – In the government proposals, you are encouraged to take the exam, after a maximum of three years; if you actually do so, you will get half of your fees paid back. That's the plan. *And if you haven't done it after five years, you will be fined. (4.3.6)* And what actually is the sanction apart from this positive and negative, the carrot and the stick, is that *as long as you haven't passed an exam, your residence permit can never become permanent. (4.3.6)* So you will have to renew your permit every year or so, which is a very costly affair; it's become very expensive, a matter of experience yourself, it used to be symbolic fee, now they have put up the prices by 800% or so...all sorts of arguments for that but it is also a hidden way of making

access more difficult. There is one more thing; that is that people who intend to settle in the Netherlands in future will already have to pass a test in their country of origin, before they actually are even granted a temporary resident permit.

Mk – Handled on a market basis?

HE – That's right.

Mk - Government won't have anything to do with it?

HE – *They'll simply take the test through the local embassy. Could be by telephone. Will be interesting. If it comes to be, it's certainly going to cost them a lot of money which they could have spent more readily on appropriating courses here (4.4.2a).*

Mk- Quote said that the immigrant would take language test and civic component, used the term they will be 'integrated'...so, if this is true, take these tests, how will the public view integration, the immigrants might still not have a job?

HE – I'm a little bit surprised. It could be the translation. We have the Dutch word 'inburgering' which I'm sure you've come across, which is hard to translate into other languages. Do you speak any German? Inburgering, naturalizing people, German often mix up these things; 'inburgering' is not the same as to integrate; personally I've seen 'inburgering' as the civic component of integration, familiarize oneself with a country's political system, maybe ethics, the language definitely, and it has some connotation of feeling at home and being a part of it, whereas 'integration' largely refers indeed to participating in the labour market, and in other institutional arrangements..... often the parallel between the two, but there has never been a clear conceptual distinction between 'integren' and 'inburgeren'; but what the government says in this new document in which they explain their new 'inburgering' courses or policies, they say 'inburgeren' is the first step toward integration; that's how they present it. One can argue if it's true or not, but it very much depends on the definition you have of that. But that's how they see it; that's why I'm surprised they have an English translation; they've probably also been struggling with these words. And I know in Germany they call them 'integratiie' courses; in most countries they call them integration courses, but we would call them 'inburgeren' courses. That makes the comparison a bit more difficult. Then part of these integration courses are then language courses and orientation courses. That seems to be more or less the international jargon. Now the crucial question, and that is what ...

I've been dealing with in this paper as well, language, well, there's common agreement, even though along with language comes culture; its hard to separate the one from the other because language courses have to deal with something; language is not just a thing; it is an instrument to convey false culture. *But orientation is the trickiest part of all because that is explicitly on values, national identity, all sorts of very sensitive things, in order to avoid difficult discussions, because its likely to generate difficult discussions (4.4.2).* Often, these course, certainly in the past, were about practicalities, well, how to get a house, how to qualify for social security, how

to use public transportation, that sort of questions, which some people have moral, ironically qualified as 'shopping at the super market of the welfare state'. That's the impression that was given to migrants. Personally, I'm also quoting that in that report on the UK, excellent report on this was written last year, it was called the Kwik Commission, it was chaired by Sir Bernard Kwik (?). He's a professor of political science and this is extremely well – reflected in this commission by the home office, well-reflected and I quote it rather much at length from this papers, ideas what these courses should be about and how they should also take account of differential levels of education of the participants; talking about values, someone who is illiterate might be a bit high brow, not that such a person has no values, but you should present them, *how to communicate the values* (4.4.2), and that's what they tend to forget here in this country because they think that's how the minister argues. She says, along with her number of local authorities, that to be able to function properly and independently in the Netherlands, you need at least a minimum standard of knowledge and capability and well, knowledge of things to know, and if you do not reach that standard, you are not welcome, and that sounds not very 'welcome'; while in the UK they argue differently. They say everybody has his or her standard and it would be an insult to teach people (????) below their own standards because in some cases, the highly educated would be, this level would be too low, and for others it would simply be irrational to teach them at a level to which they would never be able to reach. So everyone at the level that corresponds with his or her background, number of years of education, that they've had in the country of origin, etc. profession, but within three years (exactly?) they suggest they have to do another test, giving evidence of what they've learned meanwhile, and if there has been sufficient progress, in their introduction process into the UK, into British society, then they qualify for permanent residence or even for naturalization. If it's more tailored made approach than the sort of flat rate approach where, same for everybody, its not very realistic, also in ordinary education we have different levels because people have different talents, why not acknowledge them?

Mk – In trying to set values and norms, people reach within themselves because it is so hard to articulate...are there perhaps Dutch people who are looking within and asking what are our values, and maybe we've lost some of the values we thought we had?

HE- Well, we still have values but not always the values Mr. Pastors would like. They may not be the values of the past, that's true, and things have changed quite rapidly. Society, any society, probably part of human nature, social nature, nature of societies, that they can only cope with a certain number of changes within a given time frame, and maybe changes have gone too fast, and in recent decades, for some people, not for everyone, all this talk about globalization and don't forget the influence of Europeanization, anti-immigration make people feel threatened; *people feel threatened by*, well, no longer feeling at home, by being over-powered by *incomprehensible influences, and strange people* (4.3.9a), etc., and that is sort of natural reaction, and obviously some experience that more strongly than others, and there is a renewed need for redefining who are we as opposed to *them*, and to belong

to the *us*, to the *we*, that we would like to oppose to the *them*, of course, European integration is a process which is still growing (?) off clearly which, well, leaves very major marks on all European societies, and they are not always positive effects, of course. They've always been presented as something which is beneficial to everyone and in the long run, economically speaking, there can be little doubt that it is, but it also leads to all sorts of strange and (??) people coming here to crime, passing borders much more easily than in the past. It's that sort of thing quite a few people don't like; *it makes them scared*, (4.3.9a) and (4.2.2), *so then you get sort of a natural reaction, a search for the self probably, that who are we? That some people tend to fall back on classical values* (4.2.2), old nationalist values like in Flanders, for example, the translation has been slightly less nationalistic even though if you've been following the orange football team, very very peculiar link between the achievements of the national football team and orange and the camaraderie and the (??) orange, so it's that sort of symbol which people find there which they feel comfortable and at ease, it's definitely true that this whole change can be seen as a reaction to things that have changed; like in US history too, US has been going through periods of closure, and more openness, and I feel in the US now, there is a period, now it's been (??) than it was a couple of years ago, but let's hope that in the not so far future it will open up again. It's quite natural, and here too, there's a search for identity and then some people, well, almost automatically *fall back on classical values; indeed like the nation, like religion*, (4.2.2) wouldn't be surprised if there wouldn't be a religious revival also. So, I can understand it from that perspective, personally I feel it a little different but I observe what's going on, try to explain...

Mk – If you delineate values, equality between men and women, homo-sexuality, separation of church and state, can these be taught?

HE – I do believe these are characteristics of modern society even though, I say deliberately, 'modern liberal democratic societies', because *50 years ago, in this country, many people still held ideas which are more similar to some that the newcomers now have than today's ideas; up to the 1950's, women who were working for the public, for the government, had to resign on the day they got married* (4.3.8a).

Mk – that was in the 1950's?

HE – It was abolished in the 1950's. Same for teachers. *It's only quite recently, this acceptance of homosexuality; it's a bit comparable actually. There's still large segments of the population that don't accept it, of course, the public tolerance that it should be accepted*, (4.3.8) fortunately, many people, it is not a problem. But we mustn't forget these are fairly recent acquisitions of Dutch and European and Western culture in more general terms. There is also the idea that there is a sort of evolution, which is typically the idea of the enlightenment, of evolution towards more individualism, and that people are more free to live, to arrange their own lives, live in accordance with their own ideas. And to that, those poor Moslems, because very often, even if less than half of all immigrants are, actually Moslem, very often immigrant is more or less seen as being equal to Moslem and not all Moslems are all, (??) they are certainly not all fundamentalists, and they don't all go to Mosques, etc.

etc., not all of us know that, but you and I know that; it's a sort of public image. *There are more female professors in Turkey than there are in the Netherlands; this is often colored by all sorts of images and phony ideas and prejudice (4.3.8a)* but still it does play a role, and I personally would see the task of a politician to unveil that, and to say 'that's wrong' rather than use it as a starting point for making policies. But some of our current politicians do not think that way, sadly, and rather use that ideas as (??) but now the core values, well, I do believe that most migrants, well, first, *I think it is better to define these things, rather than talk vaguely about core values; its better to say, okay, in this society men and women are equal in principle. (4.3.8a)* What the next step will be, or how are you going to explain that *there are so few women in prestigious positions, that's the next step, but they are equal in practice; there is still a fairly long way to go, to be honest (4.3.8a)*, there is. Anyway, no problem to define these things, and we want you to behave in accordance with our rules, while at the same time, there is a rule that says there is a private world and a public world, and in the privacy of your own house, you are free to do what you like to do, provided you are not beating up people, you observe those laws, so if both man and woman, or husband and wife agree that inside the house, they don't treat each other as equals, can the state then say you mustn't do that? I doubt it. There are principles that clash, *there have always been principles in our liberal democracies that clash, freedom of expression and freedom of religion, (4.2.2)* may have always felt go hand in hand (??), non-discrimination and freedom of religion is another example. *There are so many contradictory things, and they become a bit more acute when faced with people with a non-western background, (4.2.2)* but its good to have the debate on these issues, to speak out on them, rather than to sweep them under the carpet like has happened in the past. We'll have to come to terms with it, and I think its also clear from the onset that *the receiving side has to make clear which rules, maybe rather than values, values are something so abstract, but which rules cannot be negotiated, which rules have to be observed under all circumstances. (4.2.1)* If you convey that to the newcomers, most newcomers will be all too happy to observe those rules precisely because they didn't exist in their own country, and for some of them, especially refugees, why they've come here, of course, but that does not exclude that over long periods, these rules may change, people say, well, if we have a Moslem majority in this city (Rotterdam), will there be a different regime, will Friday become the day of rest rather than Sunday, will churches be closed, will mosques mushroom all over the place? You can not totally prevent that from happening, and therefore I think *it's very important that those people of Moslem or other immigrant origin who come here are pre-facilitated to familiarize themselves as quickly as possible, with the typical sort of western enlightenment values, precisely to avoid preventing such developments from happening, and if you keep them in isolation for a long time, indeed, it may be a sort of breeding ground for all sorts of anti-democratic and authoritarian ideas, (4.2.1)* but cannot precisely totally excluded that as a result of immigration, values and principles change; it's that (??) people find threatening the idea, but it won't happen so quickly. When you see second generation how westernized, how Dutchized they actually are, and many don't want to see it, and by *constantly emphasizing such differences and stressing the need, you must integrate and you must do so and so, opposite of what they want to happen, might happen, and*



*that's the risk. People like Pastors don't see that. They don't see how they alienate many migrants through their powerful and strong language, how they alienate them from the local community. That is the most risky development, I think (5.6.1).*

Mk – More voices come out of the Islamic community?

HE – All religions in the world have the same basic values.

Mk- Do you see that there could be more voices coming from the immigrant community?

HE – From the immigrant communities. That's absolutely true. That's right. It would be interesting to try and find out why that is not so much the case. (???) My observation is a little bit (??) for the Netherlands, that is, well, first, historically that can be explained, but in major communities, particularly the Turks and Moroccans have never really had an elite because they were all recruited as low-skill workers and a country like France, where traditionally the North African elite went to French Universities, right from the beginning, there was also an elite originating in North Africa and living in France which helped. They could act as brokers, as leaders, and so on in the immigration process; that wasn't the case here. It was the case, say, for people from Surinam, that along with many other factors that actually helped a lot, clearly, so that is probably one thing, and the second thing is the long time it took before it was recognized they were here to stay, and the third thing was that the government, both at the local and national level, has always *thought* on behalf of the immigrant communities for a very long time, and a very interesting distinction which they tended to make very often, it's gone a little bit now, distinction between *organization* and *self-organization*, by self-organizations they meant organizations set up and lead by immigrants themselves, and they were sort of exceptional because in the beginning a whole network was created of immigrant organizations but led by (??) Dutch so called caretakers, social workers and other people to look after these poor immigrants who were supposed to be unable to find their own way around. So, any initiative taken by migrants was sort of very quickly incorporated into the existing government bureaucracy and politics; therefore that process made the public authorities believe that they knew what was going with the communities but what they didn't see was that it was only a very special segment of the migrants, those who had integrated most whom they did business with, the ones who were most familiar with the way Dutch policy maker functions, and there were leaders without followers actually...followers meanwhile controlled the mosque organizations, and of course *it is a secularized country and you cannot speak to Mosque organizations.* (4.3.1a) That's part of the debates, how should we as local authorities, Amsterdam and Rotterdam are quite different in their response to them, *should we get in touch with Moslem organizations? Mosque organizations, because after all they are the ones who are sort of well, they serve more than any other organizations (??) as points for the Moslem migrants but at the same time you have the separation of church and state, and by doing so, you confirm them in their beliefs, yet on the other hand, we do*

*have either Catholic hospitals and Christian old peoples homes, schools and so on*  
(4.3.1) so its had a big effect.

Mk- Thank you.

